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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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ANGOLA

SAVIMBI'S ROLE IN PEACE SETTLEMENTS IN REGION EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Dec 85 p 14

[Article by Alan Dunn of The Star's Washington Bureau]

[Text]

Dr Jonas Savimbi, charismatic leader of the Unita rebel movement in Angola, has become the fulcrum to peace in that country and Namibia.

Senior government officials in Pretoria believed four or more years ago that he held the key to settlement for both Angola and its southern neighbour.

The Reagan Administration is now, after years of diplomatic activity and little success in the region, acting on that premise.

Signs are that Washington has in the last few days started carefully dangling the weighty threat over Luanda of covert aid to the bush rebels, a support openly favoured by President Reagan.

This was the likely message Mr Reagan's top diplomat in Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, took with him when he met Angolan government representatives in Lusaka at the end of November to "Re-energise" his stalled US settlement drive.

While Dr Crocker and his boss, Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, prefer a negotiated solution, the envoy's words would have contained a new edge in these talks.

Mr Shultz is believed to oppose any immediate covert aid to Angola in the hope that the delay will spur the Marxist MPLA Government towards a settlement.

"We support Savimbi," Mr Shultz told reporters. "The question is, what's the most effective way to do it? And if the negotiation can take place that withdraws foreign forces from Angola and Namibia — that gets a Namibian settlement — well, then that's a good way to support Savimbi."

In seeking for five years to achieve the withdrawal of 30 000 Cuban troops from Angola and the South Africans from Namibia, the US tried several tacks and treadmilled. But the course currently set was never open to Dr Crocker because of a congressional ban since the mid-seventies on US aid to Unita.

In earlier days, the Reagan Administration advocated repeal of the prohibition, known as the Clark Amendment, but Congress resisted. After the 1984 election, however, the mood shifted on Capitol Hill, seeing the lawmakers agree to finance rebels fighting Moscow-backed governments in Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

In July, Congress killed the Clark Amendment, unleashing what has become a crowded and fiery debate among congressmen, the Reagan Administration, anti-apartheid lobbyists and activism, with visiting South African politicians and other interested parties adding to the clamour.

More than a hundred congressmen, seeing this mainly as a chance to strike at Soviet adventurism in Southern Africa, are tugging for aid of some sort to Dr Savimbi. At least 100 of their colleagues are pulling the other way, arguing it is an effort the US cannot sustain and one which will ally Washington with Pretoria.

This, the nays fear, would be disastrous for US friendships in Africa

and elsewhere.

Dr Crocker left for Lusaka as three Bills proposing help to Unita lay in wait for congressional attention first thing next year. The first intending \$27 million in open "non-lethal", humanitarian aid, the second suggesting \$27 million in military aid supplied openly; and the third wanting an end to US investments in Angola "that pay for the Cuban presence".

Then there were the moves to counter those Bills ... and Mr Reagan himself, saying shortly after the Geneva summit where regional trouble spots such as Angola were discussed, that his Administration held that covert aid to the rebels "would have much more chance of success right now".

But this cauldron of debate armed Dr Crocker with a diplomatic switch to goad the Angolans in a kiss-andslap manner into ridding that trouble-torn country of the Cubans.

Luanda must at this stage clearly understand it has to move on the Cuban issue, or face more and possibly fiercer fighting from a better equipped Unita.

It would have been put to the Angolans as simply as that — the Reagan Administration is feeling the heat too for its faltering Southern African policy which so badly needs a boost.

Whatever the deal, Washington and Pretoria seem to agree, Dr Savimbi will be part of it.

ANGOLA

COMMUNISM'S IMPACT ON RELIGION VIEWED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Dec 85 p 24

[Text]

The arrival of the Cubans in Southern Augola in 1976 came as a complete surprise. Still, the church hierarchy did not feel threatened. It was only when church leaders were arrested and executed that they discovered too late that the onslaught was aimed at them.

As in every other country that was taken over by the Marxist revolution before, it was primarily the church leaders who were singled out in the attempt to destroy the church.

The leaders of the revolution are fully aware of the structure of the traditional church that is built around the pastors. They are also aware that the congregations are usually unprepared for persecution.

At the impressive complex of the Evangelical Mission of Chileso, central Angola, the Cubans hardly found any resistance. The congregation was worshipping as usual in the big church. Pastor Aurelio Chicanha Saunje was killed in front of his frightened congregation. His blood was spilled over the carved wood of the pulpit, even as he prayed.

The frightened congregation tried to escape through the doors. Soviet-made machine-guns mowed down 150 of them. Only a few escaped.

To celebrate their great "victory", the Cubans slaughtered some of the cattle of the mission that night — September 12 1977 — and held a barbecue with fires made of the chopped up church pews.

To complete their celebrations, they decided that the church building was to be descerated. The heads of the slaughtered cattle were mounted on top of the pulpit.

A notice was put up on the pulpit: "These (the cattle heads) are now your gods. Worship them."

The incident of Cuban atrocity at Chileso was no isolated case. For some unknown reason the media did not regard it as important enough to inform the world of atrocities in Angola, and more so the systematic attempt to destroy the church.

On October 24 1976 the Cubans launched a surprise attack on Cavingo mission station. The Christians fled with the exception of a few.

Among those that were captured by the Cubans were 26 lepers who were all church members. The following day they were put in two grass huts. The doors were wired up from the outside and the huts set alight. In this way 26 Christians died a horrible death.

Their pastor, Augusto Chingaluie, was captured and tied up. His 37 cattle were mowed down by machinegun fire. He was chopped to death and his body dumped on top of the pile of dead cattle.

In all 54 defenceless Christians were murdered.

In the Chiumbo district the Cubans told the people: "From now on God does not exist anymore. From now on the gun is god."

The believers were systematically sought out and killed. As a result of this threat, only 11 people in the village of Sakumba were brave enough to continue to worship together. Because they made this stand, they had to pay with their lives and were

buried in a mass grave.

A few pastors survived. They managed to flee into the bush with their Bibles. Around these spiritual leaders the believers gathered. Denominational differences and traditions had fallen away. There were no buildings — even temporary grass shelters as places of worship were a luxury.

In the south-east of Angola where Unita is in control, the church found a haven of peace again.

Church leaders explained: "We suddenly realised that denomination was no longer of any importance. Nor was it important for us to worship in a building of brick and mortar. What we did discover was that where the congregation is, there is the church."

The Church in Southern Angola today is known as the "Evangelical Church of Angola in the Bush". It is controlled by a Christian Council of Churches.

In the bush the pastor finds himself in a completely new situation. Because so many church leaders were executed by the Cubans, several congregations are shepherded by one pastor — sometimes as many as 15 spread throughout the bush are served in this manner.

To reach them the pastor has to walk. If he is lucky, he is allowed to go with a Unita vehicle going in the same direction.

It is a hard life, but once again the Church has shown that no amount of persecution can keep it down.

CSO: 3400/754

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

SWEDISH HEALTH CARE AID—Angola is to receive 84 million kronor from Sweden as aid for its health service. Aid Minister Lena Hjelm—Wallen says that problems in Angola are great, and that the country is being subjected to economic and military sabotage with support from South Africa, with both schools and health clinics having been affected by such sabotage. Therefore, Sweden wants to help Angola with its primary health care. In the 84 million, which is to be disbursed over 2 years, are included health programs against malaria, sleeping sickness, leprasy, tuberculosis, etc. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Dec 85 p 8] /12232

CSO: 3400/689

BENTN

NORWEGIAN PETROLEUM STAFF CALLED HOME

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 18 Oct. 85 p 34

[Article by Flemming Dahl: "Saga Employees Called Home From Benin"]

[Text] Saga Petroleum has recalled its Norwegian employees from the West African country of Benin. The explanation for this is that the Norwegians for the most part have had no work to do ever since Beninian authorities on 1 October replaced Saga with Pan Ocean, a firm that operates in the Seme oil fields off the coast of Benin.

Saga did not recall the Norwegians immediately after the changeover, since the firm saw the possibility that Benin might alter its decision.

Norwegian authorities—who have provided economic guarantees for the oil project—presented an offer of better economic conditions relative to the Benin authorities, in the hope that they would alter their decision. This offer, however, had received no reply by 15 October, which was the day the formal terms were to run out.

Saga Oil's press secretary, Vibjorn Madsen, said that it was not impossible that Norwegian Saga employees might be sent back to Benin. "If further contact between Beninian and Norwegian authorities results in a mutual wish for Saga to take responsibility again for operations, we will comply," Madsen said.

Norwegian authorities have made it clear that they will treat the 15 October term limit with a certain flexibility. Their desire to have Saga continue as operating company is founded on the fear that Benin will not fulfill its conomic responsibilities to Norway if Pan Ocean takes over Saga's role as operator on a permanent basis.

According to Vibjorn Madsen, Saga's Norwegian staff in Benin consists of 38 persons, which, including their families, makes up a colony of approximately 100 persons. Madsen assumes that most of them will be back in Norway in a matter of days, but says that some key people will remain in Benin until accounts are settled.

9584 CSO: 3639/28

JOINT COMMISSION PLANNING COOPERATION WITH ALGERIA

Potential Analyzed

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] The second session of the Joint Mozambican-Algerian Commission, which is scheduled to complete its work in Algiers today, has studied the potential for a greater increase in cooperative relations in the economic and cultural sectors, with a view to promoting the already substantial existing links still further. The two main projects involved in bilateral cooperation, which is developing in the fields of forestry and agriculture, may experience the greatest impact. It is probably that the issues discussed pertain to the projects in which Algeria plans to become involved, such as the coal and marble exploitation programs, in the provinces of Tete and Cabo Delgado, respectively.

Delegations representing the two countries have been meeting in the Algerian capital since Monday to assess what has been done in the realm of bilateral cooperation in various sectors, and then to plan activities as a part of the relations between the two countries. The Mozambican delegation is headed by Minister of State for Economic Affairs for the Presidency Jacinto Veloso, and the Algerian delegation is headed by Vice Minister of International Cooperation Nordine Harbi.

The forestry exploitation project coordinated by the Algerian-Mozambican Forestry Company (SAMOFOR) is regarded by both countries as rather important in the realm of bilateral cooperation. It is believed that the export of wood produced here in Mozambique within the scope of the project, destined on a priority basis for Algeria, will begin by the end of this year. The project includes forestry exploitation work in the provinces of Zambezia and Cabo Delgado, and the quality of the wood found in this latter region is regarded as rather good.

In fact, the joint commission was to analyze the production of this company and also to consider the resources required for the proper implementation of the program.

Another project being developed within the framework of bilaterial relations is the agricultural recovery program in Boane, in the province of Maputo, in

an area of about 120 hectares to be used basically for the production of truck garden crops. The program was drafted on the basis of the serious damage done by Hurricane Domoina in 1983.

The first secretary at the Algerian embassy in Maputo, Tazir Lakhdar, told NOTICIAS that the agenda for the commission sessions included the possibility of drafting programs involving Algerian cooperation in the realm of coal and marble exploitation, in Moatize and Montepuez, respectively.

Algeria can send technicians to Mozambique to study the economic viability of the project to be pursued in Moatize, which that country regards as very important.

The Joint Mozambican-Algerian Commission was also expected to study questions involving financial and trade cooperation, stressing in particular the possibility of banking exchange between the two countries where easier mechanisms for trade exchange are concerned.

Another subject of discussion was to be the drafting of lists by both parties with a view to the import of the products each country needs from the other. Algeria would be interested in importing tea, sugar, tires, coal and marble from Mozambique, while our country would want to purchase light industrial products, wines and other items.

It is probable that the Mozambican and Algerian delegations have discussed the possibility of increasing air and maritime links, also regarded as of great importance, especially where a maritime agreement is concerned.

In the realm of cultural and scientific cooperation, a more efficient exchange between the mass media agencies in the two countries is regarded as possible, along with the granting of scholarships for Mozambican journalists. In connection with radio and television, it is expected that there may also be bilateral exchange, and the same may occur in the film sector.

Algeria is especially interested in relations between the African Studies Center and the universities in that country, the alliance between the two countries in the era of the armed national liberation struggle in Mozambique being the main reason. University students in the two countries specializing in areas having to do with culture and history may exchange experience.

Minister Veloso Comments

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] Minister of State for Economic Affairs for the Presidency Jacinto Veloso stated in Algiers last Wednesday that positive results were achieved when the sessions of the Joint Mozambican-Algerian Cooperation Commission which were held in that capital city concluded.

Speaking to the Algerian press after the commission meetings had ended, Jacinto Veloso said that the two delegations made a point of seeing that Algerian-Mozambican economic relations will be strengthened through the search

for new ideas which will make it possible to put all of the aspects discussed into practice.

The conclusion of the work of the joint commission was marked by the signing of a bilateral cooperation protocol setting forth an assessment of cooperation and prospects for it.

According to a memorandum sent to our editorial office by the Algerian embassy in Maputo, the 3 days of talks focused on the potential for developing cooperation in the realms of agriculture and forestry still further. Algerian technicians will have the task of contributing to a study of joint projects to be developed in these two fields. The Algerian daily newspaper EL MOUDJAHID noted in this connection that there have already been concrete achievements linking the two partners. The SAMOFOR [Algerian-Mozambican Forest Company], an operational enterprise which will shortly turn out production destined for the Algerian market, as well as the 1 May pilot farm, to which Algerian technicians are contributing, were two of the projects mentioned by the newspaper.

The prospects for cooperation in the mining sector, the exploitation of coal in particular, were also discussed. The cultural sector was the subject of a program covering among other things audiovisual resources and the press, with exhibitions being planned in both countries. In the training realm, a specific program will be drafted. The two partners further plan to hold a seminar on their national liberation struggles, thus strengthening the relations of solidarity which presently link the two peoples both committed to the path of completing their emancipation.

In an interview granted to EL MOUDJAHID, Jacinto Veloso also spoke about the current situation in our country and the effort South Africa is making to destroy stability in the southern region of Africa.

During his stay in Algiers, the head of the Mozambican delegation was welcomed by the president of the republic and the secretary general of the FLN Party, Chadli Bendjedid. Jacinto Veloso also met with other Algerian party and government leaders.

5157 CSO: 3442/38

NORWEGIAN AGENCY FINANCES REORGANIZATION OF NAVIQUE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Oct. 85 p 8

[Text] The NORAD [Norwegian Agency for International Development] and the NAVIQUE [Mozambique Shipping Enterprise] are to sign a cooperation agreement in the merchant marine sector before the year ends. The agreement pertains to the reorganization of this Mozambican shipping enterprise.

According to information provided to this newspaper by the commercial director of the NAVIQUE, the NORAD will make available funds for the purpose of reorganizing the NAVIQUE where technical aid, the training of cadres and the reorganization of the coastal shipping terminal are concerned.

The talks proliminary to the signing of the agreement are rather well-advanced. Delegations representing both parties have already paid visits to and held meetings in Maputo and Norway on several occasions, and Norwegian technicians have studied the infrastructures existing in Mozambique with a view to determining the viability of cooperation.

The NORAD will participate in this effort through a Norwegian enterprise called Nordenfieldsk, which specializes in coastal shipping. According to the preliminary intentions expressed concerning the agreements, cooperation will initially be scheduled for a 4-year period.

"We have little knowledge in the realm of maritime navigation. The participation of Norway will reactivate the operations of the NAVIQUE and will also make it possible to pass on knowledge to Mozambican workers on a solid basis," the commercial director of the NAVIQUE said.

5157 CSO: 3442/38

UNICEF FINANCING FIVE PROJECTS IN INHAMBANE

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] The UNICEF is to finance five economic and social projects in the province of Innambane. These projects, the implementation of which is to be launched by the first quarter of next year at the latest, were the subject of discussion during the recent visit paid to Inhambane by a UNICEF mission headed by the chief representative of that body to our country, Nigel Ficher.

The first of the projects involves the development of surface and drilled wells, for which financing in the amount of \$1.8 million has been provided to the UNICEF by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Moreover, the extended vaccination campaign being carried out in the province is another project already being supported by the UNICEF.

The other projects to be financed by the UNICEF, including the program of support for orphans, the integrated rural development program and the provision of basic medicines to the health centers, were the subject of discussion at meetings held with provincial bodies by the members of the mission representing that body during its stay in Inhambane.

The UNICEF mission traveled to Zavala, where it assisted in the campaign to vaccinate the population in one of the district zones. Nigel Ficher, the chief UNICEF representative in Mozambique, expressed the view that the attendance by pregnant women and children in the locality visited was positive. He congratulated the district bodies of the party and government for the work done in mobilizing the people to participate the campaign.

Nigel Ficher said that an assessment of the development of the campaign will be made at the end of this year or the beginning of next year, in order to establish what difficulties the brigades may have encountered in their work and what improvements should be made in future campaigns of this sort.

The UNICEF mission also visited the Muele center, in the city of Inhambane, to evaluate the support needed by orphaned children.

This UNICEF mission also had the task of making preparations for the visit to Inhambane the executive director of this UN body plans to make shortly.

OIL PROSPECTING WELL-ADVANCED IN CENTRAL REGION

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] The final stage in the work of seismic prospecting to locate hydrocarbons—oil and natural gas—was completed last Friday. The offshore prospecting was done along the Mozambican maritime coast between the provinces of Sofala and Zambezia, and in this stage alone, 760 kilometers of seismic profiles have been established. The data will later be sent to London, the British capital, for the necessary processing.

The final stage in the seismic prospecting work was started at the beginning of this month, and Western Geophysical, a U.S. company specializing in oil research, was made responsible for the work by the National Hydrocarbons Enterprise and the AMOCO company.

The National Hydrocarbons Enterprise program was financed by the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD), which will also finance the work of processing and interpreting the data obtained during the prospecting effort.

Efrem Burai, a Mozambican technician working in the seismic research sector, said that one vessel, supported by a helicopter, was used for this work.

This vessel is equipped with one of the most modern and sophisticated integrated navigation systems, known as "Mairan."

To carry out the prospecting work, the vessel trailed a 3200-meter cable which produced small explosions. According to Efrem Burai, these were harmless to maritime life.

The seismic prospecting work at the center began in September of this year and ended on 2 October. In the course of this effort, 871 kilometers of seismic profiles were established, and the first magnetic tapes have already been sent for processing.

According to this Mozambican technician, this series of seismic prospecting efforts is a part of the campaign our government has been developing with a view to increasing use of the natural resources located in the soil and

subsoil, such as to provide an even greater thrust to the economic and social development of our country.

This concern is of particular importance where hydrocarbons are concerned, since in the past decade their value has developed in extraordinary fashion, bringing enormous wealth to the oil-producing countries and creating serious difficulties for those which do not produce it.

In this connection, since Mozambique is not an oil-producing country, while there does exist a vast sedimentary basin, it became necessary to promote the search for hydrocarbons in order to avoid spending foreign exchange to purchase oil.

It should be stressed that there are at least 18 blocs, all offshore, along the Mozambican coast, some of which the prospecting work is well-advanced, apart from extensive onshore zones.

The first basic work, called theoretical seismic exploration, started at the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982. This work, which involved defining the blocs for the purpose of granting concessions to other oil companies, was undertaken by the Geophysical Company, the Kingdom of Norway (GECO), the Rovuma Center, AMOLO and the Center for the South of the Country.

5157

CSO: 3442/38

SEMINAR ON AGRICULTURE IN MAPUTO CONCLUDES

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Oct 85 p 1

[Text] The seminar which has been in progress in Maputo for the purpose of analyzing the bilateral cooperation between the Ministry of Agriculture in our country and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) came to a conclusion late yesterday afternoon. The seminar made possible a more detailed assessment of the activities pursued by the FAO in Mozambique since independence was won. During the seminar, the need for a still further increase in cooperation on the rural development projects, oriented toward providing greater support to the family farm sector, was established.

The initiative in sponsoring this seminar came from the Ministry of Agriculture. According to a source at the ministry, the holding of the seminar basically made it possible for FAO representatives to understand the real Mozambican farm situation. This same source added that the speakers took the meeting very seriously, since this was the first time Ministry of Agriculture bodies have taken the initiative in sponsoring a gathering to make possible an analysis of what has already been done within the context of cooperation with the FAO.

According to the document read at the conclusion of the seminar, the situation of insecurity in the rural zones, natural catastrophes and other factors have substantially affected the development of the farm sector, and as a result, the implementation of the projects. In the course of 10 years, 75 FAO projects have been carried out with a view to the development of the farm sector, in addition to the 22 now in progress. The total expenditure has come to 66 million American dollars, providing a major program which has contributed substantially to strengthening a large number of the activities of the Ministry of Agriculture.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has encountered difficulties in its 10 years of activity in Mozambique, due to the inadequate concentration of activities, insufficient institutional impact and the shortage of national cadres, as well as the limited emphasis on middle-level training.

In the future, the activities of the FAO will focus on national and regional programs in support of food production and export crops as a means of

overcoming the difficulties encountered in the implementation of its projects during the past 10 years, and in accordance with the strategy defined by the government for the development of the farm sector. Special emphasis is to be given to programs designed to increase the farm production of the family sector.

In addition, the FAO is to give priority to rehabilitation programs, the consolidation of state enterprises and other large farm production units, with particular emphasis on the programs pertaining to better management of land and water resources.

5157 CSO: 3442/41

INFRASTRUCTURE IMPROVEMENTS BENEFIT BEIRA PESCOM

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Estacio Baptista: "Beira PESCOM Will Have a New Face"]

[Text] With the installation of new cold storage chambers, the modernization of others which are inoperative, as well as the construction of an ice factory, now prospects are opening up with regard to the infrastructures at the regional center of the PESCOM in Beira, in connection with the operation of the cold storage system designed to preserve fish and shrimp, as well as other products of fishing marketed by this enterprise in the provinces of Sofala, Manica and Tete.

This optimism was voiced by PESCOM Director Magid Ali in an interview granted to NOTICIAS. He added that with the building of these infrastructures, a careful correction will be undertaken in the installation of the new cold storage equipment, since the old equipment has for some years now functioned improperly.

"On the other hand, there is a great need to find a new philosophy which will efficiently ensure the allocation of the cold storage system with a view to the best preservation of the fish marketed to the consumers in the three provinces by the PESCOM." our interlocutor stressed.

Deplorable State of Equipment

This official openly discussed some of the difficulties experienced in recent years, in particular with regard to the infrastructures inherited by the enterprise from some private units. He pointed out, moreover, that the inefficient functioning of the temperature control facilities not only did harm to the reputation of the PESCOM, as the body responsible for marketing fish, but also threatened the health of consumers, since there have already been instances of the deterioration of fish reported in this and other cities in the central region.

What, in fact, do the consumers say about these products? By way of example, it will suffice to note that this subject has come up in the letters to the editor of the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE, which is published in Beira, as well as some articles published in that same morning paper

In the majority of cases, the health department has had to take action in the various places where fish is marketed, and it has been learned that substantial quantities were condemned to be burned or buried because they were unsuitable for consumption. These are only some of the examples illustrating how the PESCOM has functioned in recent years.

However, it is expected that with the use of the new cold storage equipment, the installation of which is expected to be completed by next November, the PESCOM will take on a new aspect and will function such as to benefit the consumers.

Cadre Training

With a view to the training of cadres capable of maintaining and repairing the equipment installed in the enterprise, the work of building a technicians' training school is under way on a parallel basis.

In its first phase, the school will be attended by workers selected by the PESCOM and others sent by the sponsoring ministry. In the second phase, individuals working for the industrial fishing enterprises linked with the sector will also attend.

Concerning this relationship, Magido Ali said that "an effort is being made to relate marketing to production, covering the process from the origin of products on the high seas to our cold storage facilities."

A Danish technician from the SABROE enterprise has been assigned to this teaching establishment to supervise the classes. The Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), which participated in the installation of the technical equipment there, has contracted for his services.

5157 CSO: 3442/41

OUTSTANDING STUDENTS TO TAKE COURSE IN BURUNDI

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 29 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] Ten workers at enterprises and institutions in this city who have achieved an outstanding level in their knowledge of the French language left Maputo today for Bujumbura, in Burundi, where they will attend an advanced course at the local university.

The workers in question are students at the Maputo Language Institute. They have completed the fourth training level and were awarded this opportunity by the French embassy in Maputo in a program coordinated with that teaching establishment. The workers will stay in Burundi one month, after which they will return to Mozambique to their normal activities.

The scholarship students who are leaving today for Burundi are Bonifacio Cossa (Ministry of Health), Domitilia Bucuane (APIE [Administration of State Lands and Property]), Isabel Massavanhane (GEOMOC), Jorge Lapene (EMOSE [Mozambican Insurance Enterprise]), Tomas Mabulangue (Airport Customs), Americo Tamele (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), David Joanisse (British Embassy), Irondina de Morais (BPD [People's Development Bank]), Nassone Tamele and Gabriel Mucavele (Presbyterian Church).

5157 CSO: 3442/41

ZIMBABWE

THREE POLICE OFFICIALS DISMISSED FOR MISCONDUCT

MB192016 Harare Domestic Service in English 1745 GMT 19 Dec 85

[Text] The suspended commissioner of police, Wiridzayi Ngurube, and two deputy commissioners of police, Govati Mhora and Nebby Madziwa, have been dismissed. The dismissals were announced by the prime minister, Comrade Robert Mugabe, at a news conference in Harare today.

This follows a report by a commission of inquiry headed by Mr Justice Moodley into allegations of misconduct which had been made against Ngurube. The prime minister has appointed Comrade (Jimuji Mukurajirika), who has been acting commissioner, as new commissioner of police. The findings and recommendations of the commission have been accepted by government. The prime minister described the report as thorough, detailed, and professional. The report maintains that Ngurube has been (?found guilty) of gross maladministration, abuse of rank and power, misuse of government funds and property, improper interference in certain lawful investigations of criminal cases by his subordinates, and various instances of morally questionable behavior.

The report also reviewed what it described as the sorry situation of an officer who was ill-suited for his high rank and who associated with officers who were highly subjective and unprofessional.

Therefore, in accordance with Section 93, sub-section 5 of the constitution, Ngurube has been dismissed from the Zimbabwe Republic Police. He will not be awarded his pension but will receive only the refund of his pension contributions.

The prime minister said further investigations by the police are continuing and should there be a basis for certain further court action, that shall be done. Comrade Mugabe once again warned the government will deal ruthlessly with any misguided officer. He declared: We need in Zimbabwe a highly disciplined, loyal and professional police force commanded by men and women of the highest abilities, skill, and impeccable integrity.

/9604

CSO: 3400/678

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPERT WARNS NATION ON ROAD TO DICTATORSHIP

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 85 p 8

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

A TOP political scientist warned yesterday that the New Year would see South Africa even further on the road to a "disastrous" dictatorship — unless all the Republic's people awoke to the fact that their democratic powers had been eroded virtually into non-existence.

In a "crystal ball" preview of his expectations for 1986, Prof Willem Kleynhans, professor of Political Science at Unisa, predicted to The Citizen that the State President, Mr P W Botha, would have to go to the country with a new referendum.

"He is committed to seeking a mandate from the electorate for really big constitutional change. This is South Africa's moment of truth and he will have to put real change to the people.

"And anything which does not include the Blacks in the central Government is not only a waste of time but politically dangerous.

"Anything more like we have already seen in the new dispensation is really only apartheid in a slightly different pill," he said

White South Africans appeared to be totally unaware of how their democratic rights had been eroded.

If the Government did not restore government by the people in the New Year, the country would be heading for very serious consequences.

Increasingly, party congresses had become a rubber stamp to endorse what had already been done.

Constitutional patterns for the future — as in the case of the replacement of the elected provincial system and the so — called divisional service councils — would see people appointed and not elected to positions of great power.

"This system opens the way for abuse. It opens the way for fellow travellers, stooges and yes-men to be given tremendous powers and with an electorate in a defenceless situation, unable to redress it," said Prof Kleynhans.

He said: "And they might not even be competent people. But they will have vast sums of money — our money —to work with and if anything goes wrong we have no leg to stand on, or any comeback to make."

The National Party was losing more conservative Afrikaners to the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties.

"If there were a General Election tomorrow the Progressive Federal Party would without doubt be replaced by the CP as the official Opposition," said Prof Kleynhans.

The PFP seemed to believe that by raising a R10-million fighting fund that it could strengthen its position — but the truth was that money, in South Africa, did not buy votes.

However, the CP and HNP were themselves in trouble because of their squabbling and splitting of the conservative votes — while the New Republic Party was, like the dodo, now doomed to total extinction.

Another big factor in the New Year would be the effectiveness of the trade union movement which had really started to show its teeth, particularly among the Blacks in 1985.

The solution for the Government, he said, would be to come to coalition terms with the PFP—ridding itself of conservative Afrikaner support and boosting its credibility, particularly among the English-speaking people.

Internationally, it had been made clear to South Africa that there was a time limit for real reform — brought home, meanwhile, through mild sanctions which indicated that far worse could come if the country did not really introduce reform.

/13046 CSO: 3400/731

SOUTH AFTICA

CREATER ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION EQUALS GREATER DEMOCRACY

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 12 Oct 85 p 8

[Article by Political Commentator Dawie: "Unrest and the Economy; Rebuilding Hand in Hand with Greater Democracy"]

[Text] Since it is clear that the economic recession is one of the strongest causes for the dragging situation of unrest, the economic rebuilding of South Africa is getting the most intensive attention even in some rather unexpected places.

In this process, a whole set of illusions about the republic has been smothered. This was necessary, because the reconstruction and the building up of a South Africa which will benefit not only its peoples, but will be able to play a potentially great and fruitful role even far into the Africa beyond its own frontier, must be based on hard realities.

One of these illusions, which has now hopefully been put to rest for good, is that South Africa can get along talking with the countries of the First World.

A Price Must Be Paid

A dangerous little game has already been played in the days when the price of gold, the country's mainstay, was still very high. But even then political factors, which deeply affected the economic status of South Africa, were not being sufficiently considered by financial leaders who created the impression of an inclination to riding high.

The impulse which brought back such illusions thrives on; it has necessitated the re-establishment of measures such as the financial rand, even after strict financial discipline became the watchword of state authorities.

A price had to be paid.

Just how detrimental were such things as terribly high rates of interest to small business enterprises, the real providers of new jobs? Could the contributing factors to the disturbingly high rate of unemployment be underestimated with respect to the present disorders?

On the other side of the political spectrum one notes an opposite kind of illusion among radicals who juggle with the fantasy that a black majority government will go away with all the country's problems.

This week a prominent economist dumped cold water on that illusion. He pointed out that such expectations are misplaced, because overseas bankers appear to be unwilling to lend money to black governments and this is also apparent in the case of Zimbabwe.

Almost simultaneously with that economist's warning African countries went to complain about their lot at the annual meeting of the IMF in Seoul.

They pointed out that Africa's economic situation is the worst in history and begged for the absolution of their indebtedness while their children suffer from hunger.

Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, the great apostle of African nationalism, proposed that Africa's burden of indebtedness to the West's creditors, estimated at 170 billion dollars (about 425,000 million rand) has to be written off. This pathetic plea came from a leader whose "Ujama" policy turned a once prosperous country into a pile of junk.

The fact that such African disasters have not gone unnoticed by many black South Africans (with the exception of impetuous radicals) is apparent from an address delivered in Switzerland this week by Chieftain Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The proposed that U. S. aid to black South Africans should rather be applied for promoting national reconciliation and economic reconstruction; he mentioned specifically economic expansion, self aid plans for communities and the development of the informal sector. He said that a future government must also collaborate as closely as possible with the private sector.

However, such economic realism is having a hard time penetrating the colored communities where too large a group still does not perceive the advantage of private initiative.

How short the time is getting here and there is apparent from the statement of a colored student council which sets, as the condition for the resumption of "normal classes," the taking over of farms, mines and factories by the "workers."

Marx and Lenin would have rejoiced over this. When will such misguided young men realize the kind of suffering that has ensued from such concepts in the economic field in particular?

The realization that an economy, in which private initiative is dominant, is by far the most successful, and is in fact to be found exclusively in democratic countries, must gain ground on a wide front.

For South Africa this means that economic reconstruction must progress hand in hand with a broadening of democracy.

In both instances an enormous task lies before us.

People must not only be made to realize that communism and Africa-socialism have generally meant only that poverty has had to be shared among the poor; the idea must also prevail that a stable compassionate democracy will be offering a much better future than a "one-man-one-vote (one time)" system in a unitary state which offers no lasting accommodation in a divided country's multinational situation.

The greater the country's economic progress, the greater the expansion of democracy will be. The opposite is also true.

7964/9190 CSO: 3401/10

SOUTH AFRICA

POLITICAL, EDUCATIONAL REFORMS ALONG LABOR PATTERN SUGGESTED

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 16 Oct 85 p 12

[Article by Political Commentator Piet Muller: "Reform's Show Piece, Important Lessons To Be Learned from Labor"]

[Text] In the midst of the dragging unrest in black residential areas and the school unrest which simply does not abate, it is possible to assume in more than one case that reform has nevertheless had a resounding success; that is the labor reform which was started in 1979.

One should also ask whether perhaps there are lessons to be learned from the fact that the country is enjoying labor peace while in other areas it is experiencing the most serious social unrest in its history.

Take for instance the threatened mine strike of a few weeks ago: While in the U. S. Senate pondered over and weighed the wisdom of sanctions against South Africa and the rest of the world got all worked up over the state of emergency, South Africa held its breath over the labor dispute about the mines.

The Use of Trade Unions

A widespread mine strike would have had serious consequences at the time. Internally this could have caused the political unrest in black residential areas to spill over into factories and mines, while internationally this could have been the signal for which many prophets of doom are waiting, namely, that South Africa's workers have decided to revolt against their "slavery" and that the rest of the world must now help them by imposing comprehensive sanctions.

Even in South Africa pessimists have started to mumble louder saying that in the event of the failure to attain the due political voice Blacks will surely use the trade unions to force political concessions.

In all this the normal process of negotiation, provided for in the labor legislation, went on unimpeded and the dispute was settled without the need of having the government stick its nose in labor affairs.

This was surely the most severe test to which the labor legislation was subjected since its inception in 1979. But this was also a test which succeeded with flying colors.

Yet it is also clear that those who created this labor deal often have had to have nerves of steel for the past 6 years.

In the late seventies this labor arrangement was preceded by serious industrial unrest and strikes. For the first time it became clear how dangerous it can be if black workers are not allowed to negotiate directly with their employers.

Nevertheless the first years following the introduction of the labor legislation were rather turbulent. Black trade unions were springing up all over like toadstools and sometimes there were bitter internal fights between competing groups. Even established trade unions had to adapt to this new period.

What made the confusion even greater was the appearance of many trade union leaders almost from nowhere. It was soon clear that even the ANC could not resist from keeping its hands off this affair and wanted very much to use organized labor as a jumping board for an attack on the government.

The result of all this was that strikes increased by leaps and bounds. From everywhere there were pressing demands that the government had to do something, while the police acted energetically in arresting certain labor leaders and putting them in prison.

The First Duty of Leaders

But the people of the Manpower Board stuck to their guns and refused to put their noses in the inner fighting. An acceptable labor dispensation had to crystallize around accepted leaders and accepted labor unions. If the state were to interfere then everything would simply have been bungled all over again.

In the BEELD interview Dr Piet van der Merwe, the general director of Manpower, said at the time that it would not take long before trade union leaders would realize that their first duty is to protect their members's jobs and salaries. Surely they would soon realize that this cannot be done by using the trade unions for strikes that have nothing to do with labor.

He was right, and the dramatic reduction in the number of strikes in South Africa proved it. Moreover, nowadays 50 percent of all strikes last only a day or less, while a strike that lasts more than 3 days is practically unheard of.

In talking with people behind the labor scheme of things they ascribe this success to the fact that the government has never prescribed how trade union structures must be fashioned or whom they may choose as leaders.

Important Lessons

In like manner maintaining discipline at the factory has been left to the trade union. If a trade union fails in its task then it will simply hurt itself.

Could political reformers perhaps learn a couple of important lessons from this? Was not one reason why the local black authority was so widely rejected that the authority wanted to create "acceptable structures" on its own, instead of leaving this matter to the inhabitants of the black residential areas, even though their structures perhaps differ from those of the Western model?

These days the government is going out of its way seeking "moderate" leaders with whom it can consult on the future of South Africa, but surprisingly few of them are willing to show up for this. Is this not due to the fact that we are again prescribing what aspect those leaders with whom we want to talk must present?

Even the wildest men, which the black community can put forward, could always maintain their credibility if they could provide visible contribution to the creation of a peaceful South Africa.

Also, do not the lessons of the labor dispensation perhaps offer valuable pointers which can be applied in the settlement of the dragging dispute about black education?

7964/9190 CSO: 3401/10

SOUTH AFRICA

SABC COMMENTARY SAYS REFORM STRUGGLE MUST BE WON

MB190528 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 19 Dec 85

[Station commentary: "Heinous Terrorism"]

[Text] What emerges clearly from the reaction of newspapers, political leaders, the churches and ordinary people, is that acts of terrorism such as the landmine explosion which killed six people in the far northern Transvaal on Sunday, are unconditionally condemned from all quarters.

The general feeling is that it has no place in civilised society. In a leading article the STAR put it this way: "Savage and indiscriminate murder is no way to achieve political goals. No grievances, no political objective can justify killing people at random. If this is to be the style of the African National Congress it will forfeit all right not only to negotiate but even to speak for any group of South Africans. It will have become a haven for fanatics only. The leader of the opposition, Dr Van zyl Slabbert, said it had always been his view that violence as an instrument of political change was counter-productive "we cannot afford our situation to become so polarised that antagonistic groups resort exclusively to violence." The government stands by its view that there can be no negotiations with an organization which refuses to renounce violence.

On its part, the ANC cannot afford to abandon its acts of terror and intimidation: Along with its clever propaganda, this is the only way in which it can maintain its esteem at home and abroad. On the one hand, the organization wishes to negotiate, as this will lend it an air of reasonableness and respectability, with which it might persuade some moderates here and abroad that it will be an acceptable alternative to the present dispensation.

On the other hand, it wants to continue its violence, in order to show the black masses that it is strong enough to destabilize the country to such an extent that the impression would be created that the government is unable to maintain law and order.

The South African public, white and black, should have no illusions about the objectives of the ANC: It is a revolutionary organisation bent on transforming the country into a one-party Marxist-Socialist state. This will not bring liberation to black people, but will turn the country into a communist satellite under direct control from Moscow.

The biggest threat to the ANC is that most blacks will begin to perceive that the government is serious about its plans for reform, that they will also receive political accommodation, and be assured of a better future.

In this case its whole raison d'etre will fall away. Positive, visible reform, gaining and maintaining the trust and goodwill of black people is therefore the most effective weapon against the ANC. Naturally this organisation is well aware of this, and that is why it continually decries all reforms as window dressing which leaves the essence of apartheid unchanged.

It is for the same reason that it plants landmines which claim innocent lives, as this inevitably hardens white attitudes which in turn obstructs the process of peaceful negotiation. It is generally accepted that the ANC cannot win an open military confrontation with South Africa. But if this country wants to escape the destiny which the ANC has in mind, it will also have to win the reform struggle as well as the propaganda war.

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CSO: 3400/678

SOUTH AFRICA

BASSON URGES ESTABLISHMENT OF CONSOCIATIVE DEMOCRACY

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 18 Oct 85 p 10

[Text] Consociation democracy is in the spot light following the RGN [Council for Humanities Research] report in intergroup relations. But what is consociative democracy and how can it be instituted in South Africa? Prof Dion Basson of the University of Pretoria earned a doctorate in law with a treatise on the influence of conservatism on the constitutional development in South Africa and an evaluation of the present constitution as a consociative model. He explains how a true consociative democracy can be a solution for South Africa and why it must be established now.

Prof Dion Basson says that although South Africa's present constitution would be changed for the purpose of providing representation for Blacks in a fourth nouse of Parliament, the country would still not have a consociative democracy.

Although at this stage it would appear that in practice the present constitution is being made to function in a consociative manner, a system of domination over the largest group in Parliament is still built in the constitution.

Thus, if the black population will now be taken up in a fourth house in proportion with its numbers, this will practically come down to the same thing as a black majority government.

Professor Basson warns that there is a need to be careful about talking so lightly about a consociative democracy, because a system that might appear to be like a consociative democracy at a glance, perhaps does not in reality contain the provisions for a true consociative democracy.

Collaboration

A consociative democracy is established for the purpose or representing plural interests in an heterogeneous society. The key concept is collaboration.

The requirements are: First of all power sharing with consensus over matters of general interest as the basic concept; secondly: group autonomy, with no interference in the group's own affairs as the basic concept; thirdly, a reciprocal veto as a defensive mechanism for protecting minority groups and lastly: proportionality, namely, that groups shall share representation, civil service appointments and the allotment of scarce resources proportionately.

A consociative democracy is not a one people or a one-man-one-vote government. This is a government of elites, a government by leaders who act together, in a deeply divided society with divergent political views, for the purpose of limiting the potential for political conflict and assuring a stable government.

The conservative leaders of the International Democrat Union (Mrs Margaret Thatcher of Britain, President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany) will support such a government in South Africa, because they do not insist so strongly on one-man-one-vote and are giving preference to a stable government.

On the other hand a more liberal or socialistic government will probably be pressing for a majority government and more revolutionary constitutional developments.

This is the reason why, according to Professor Basson, South Africa must have an elitistic government. History shows that conservative and liberal/socialistic governments differ from each other in cycles. Thus a consociative democracy must be established in South Africa while the conservative one is still in power, in order to insure acceptance abroad. The present constitution is not consociative democracy and the reasons for this are:

Neither the Cabinet nor Parliament offer real commitments to attain consensus on general matters. This is because the state president thrives in a position of power and, in practice, he is elected by the majority party in the white parliament. Moreover, even the composition of the President's Council is determined by the majority party in the white parliament.

Consequently the system is such that it is possible for the party having an absolute majority in the white parliament to rule without the consensus of any of the other segments. Therefore, there is no talk of true power sharing.

There is also no talk of true autonomy for groups to make decisions on their own affairs by themselves, because the state president can decide whether one house may legislate on a matter and he can transfer functions from one minister to another. He can therefore intervene with both legislative and executive authorities in a manner enabling him to control and regulate the so-called autonomy of each group.

The mutual veto is mostly non-existent. Only in the case of language rights and certain stipulations it is possible for a group to prevent a legislation from being enacted by Parliament.

There does exist proportionality of numbers in the present representation, but there are no provisions for further changes in population proportion.

The Fourth House

The effect of the constitution, therefore, comes down to a system where one group (at the present time the Whites) can exercise authority in such a way that consensus on general matters is superfluous and does not assure any true autonomy over the group's own affairs.

Therefore if the Blacks were now to be taken up in a fourth house in proportion to their numbers the consequences of that would in practice be the same as having a black majority government, because the present system enables the party with the majority in the biggest house to dominate other groups.

The very objective of consociative democracy is to eliminate domination and to establish a consensus government.

According to Professor Basson a true consociative democracy can surely offer a solution for the constitutional future of South Africa, but then the two pillars for it, namely, power sharing on general matters based on consensus and full autonomy of decision making on a group's own affairs, must form a part of the constitution.

Human Rights Provision

The groups must also share power proportionately and there must be a reciprocal veto for the protection of minority groups.

The present constitution does not contain any human rights provisions. Professor Basson thinks that such provisions, which would involve the courts as arbitrators, must be built into it. This will insure that every individual's importance vis-a-vis the state's authority is upheld and group rights are guaranteed. Anything that would prejudice the rights of a group could therefore be declared nul and void by the court as being in conflict with human rights.

Prodessor Basson says that it is high time for South Africa to develop the tradition of protecting the rights of groups and persons against any government that assumes power. It is in that tradition (rather than in the present one in which the state's authority is inclined to become absolute) that each citizen's peace of mind rests, knowing that as a human being and a member of a group a place in the South Arrican sun will be guaranteed to him.

A human rights provision will signal the end of legislations such as that of arrest without trial.

In order to prevent a party in power from repealing the entire constitution, certain protective mechanisms could be built into the constitution itself.

Professor Basson thinks that in a consociative democracy in South Africa people must be able to associate with a certain group voluntarily and spontaneously rather than being told or forced to be in a particular one. The Population Registration Act must therefore expire.

7964/9190 CSO: 3401/10

SAEC COMMENTARY CRITICIZES 'DOUBLE STANDARD'

MB200528 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 20 Dec 85

[Station commentary]

[Text] Over the years South Africa has become used to selective morality and double standards--not only in international forums such as the United Nations, but also in its dealing with supposedly well-disposed countries. Nevertheless, hypocrisy never fails to shock, as again now with Western diplomats explaining their absence at the funerals of the landmine victims in the northern Transvaal, with the excuse that they weren't invited. A funeral is, after all, an open event, attended usually without invitation by anyone wishing to express sympathy with the next-of-kin. As the deputy minister of information, Mr Louis Nel, has rightly pointed out, it is, however, appropriate for diplomats not to involve themselves in the domestic affairs of a host country. The invitation to the Mamelodi funeral, issued with the obvious ulterior motive of involving the international community, could easily have been turned down. But this was not done. Moreover, a diplomatic representative who did attend told newsmen that the aim was, as he put it, to express solidarity with the right to peaceful protest.

This is blatant partiality, incompatible with diplomatic tradition, the more so in the face of incontrovertible evidence that the funeral of unrest victims have become totally politicised. The solemnity of the traditional black funeral has been hi acked by the organisers of radical protest and shamelessly exploited by them to preach the black liberation cause. It has been transformed into a slick publicity operation, to extract the maximum propaganda value. While bereaved family and friends are barely granted the opportunity of paying their last respects to the deceased, activists use the occasion to inflame thousands of their hangers-on with militant political rhetoric. This is what the diplomats associated themselves with at Mamelodi. In the United Nations the latest instance of double standards was the General Assembly's unanimous condemnation earlier this month of terrorism, except where it is perpetrated by what was called national liberation movements, such as the African National Congress, SWAPO and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. An untenable stand was thus made for political reasons: Violence is in order, as long as one agrees with the motivation. When the ANC kills innocent people

it is therefore not terrorism, and is not unconditionally condemned by the international community or even the West. This approach, or rules applying only to South Africa, is also reflected in the Commonwealth's decision on punitive measures against South Africa, with the aim of enforcing standards which they themselves cannot meet.

In addition, a mission of so-called eminent persons is to be sent to this country with the professed aim of helping to solve its problems. However, the committee comprises people who not only have no constitutional expertise, or special knowledge of the South African situation, but are virtually all virulent critics of this country. South Africa simply has to live with this one-sided, biased approach, so evident from the actions of many countries and their representatives. It will have to work out its own destiny, not only without their cooperation, but often despite their interference.

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IRR OFFICIAL CRITICIZES MOUTSE INCORPORATION

MB171657 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1607 GMT 17 Nec 85

[Embargoed until 1000 GMT 18 December]

[Text] Johannesburg, 18 Dec [as received] (SAPA)—The government appeared intent on causing violent conflict to spread even further, Mr John Kane-Berman, chairman of the Institute of Race Relations [IRR], said in a statement today.

Referring to protests against government plans to incorporate the Moutse District near Groblersdal in the central Transvaal into the Kwandebele homeland, Mr Kane-Berman said that the outbreak of violence there this week was the third time this year the consolidation plans for Kwandebele had led to conflict.

"One would have thought that this would cause Pretoria to think again but it seems bent on forcing the 120,000 inhabitants of Moutse into Kwandebele despite persuasive evidence that the great majority of them want no part of this consolidation plan.

"For the government to act in this manner would be cause for concern at the best of times. For it to do so in the current climate is highly irresponsible," Mr Kane-Berman said.

The institute noted that the inhabitants of the 66,000 ha Moutse district had been battling against the plan to incorporate them into Kwandebele for 5 years, and that they had warned the former minister of cooperation and development, Dr Piet Koornhof, as early as 1981 that incorporation would lead to bloodshed.

"This is now occurring because the government has brushed aside pleas and entreaties against incorporation. Mindful of the manner in which it was thwarted by the courts over its plans to incorporate the Ingwavuma district of Kwazulu into Swaziland, the government has been passing legislation making it impossible for redress to be sought in the courts on behalf of the Moutse people," Mr Kane-Berman said.

/9604

RAND SUPREME COURT TOLD PRESIDENT ACTED UNFAIRLY

MB201524 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1522 GMT 20 Dec 85

[Text] Johannesburg, Dec 20, SAPA--The state president acted with "unnecessary unfairness" and beyond his powers in authorizing the minister of law and order to extend the initial 14-day period of detention of people held under the emergency regulations, the Rand Supreme Court heard today.

The submission was made before a full bench of the Rand Supreme Court today by Mr Sydney Kentridge, SC [Senior Counsel], who is arguing for the release of Mr Kamalam Naidoo, Mr Ismail Momoniat and 11 others being held in the Johannesburg and Modderbee Prisons.

The respondents are the minister of law and order, the minister of justice and the officers commanding the two prisons.

Mr Kentridge said that on October 31 this year, the state president, acting in terms of his powers under the Public Safety Act 1953, issued a proclamation amending regulation 3 (3) in such a way as purportedly to exclude any rights to a hearing before the issue of an order for further detention.

Regulation 3 (3) as amended reads: "The minister may, without notice to any person and without hearing any person, by written notice, signed by him and addressed to the head of the prison, order that any person arrested and detained in terms of sub-regulation (1), be further detained in that prison for the period mentioned in the notice, or for as long as the regulation remains in force."

Mr Kentridge submitted that in its present form the regulation was invalid in that "it is beyond the powers of the state president under the Public Safety Act to exclude the principles of natural justice."

He further submitted that the state president had no power to make the regulation in the present form because "it is grossly unreasonable and harsh and oppressive and the state president, in making such a regulation, could not properly have applied his mind to the purpose of the act."

Mr John Coetzee, SC, for the respondents said under Regulation 3 (3) the state president was authorized by the enabling act to make any regulation for the

safety of the public or the public order. "Regulations cannot be declared ultra vires on the grounds of unreasonableness."

Mr John Coetzee, who also appeared for the respondents, said that emergency rights and freedom of individuals could be limited "and this can be decided by the state president."

Counsel for the respondents asked for the application to be dismissed with costs.

Mr Kentridge, SC, asked for substantial relief, release of the detainees and costs on the basis of the employment of two counsels.

Judgment has been reserved.

/12712

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF CONSCRIPTION RAISES QUESTIONS

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec/Jan 86 pp 15-18

Article: "Why Conscription Must Continue"

Text Plenty of people take opposition to conscription as practically a holy cause, as well as a self-evidently obvious one. If any such people do not find themselves substantially shaken up by Helmoed-Romer Heitman's staggeringly cool dissection of the practicalities, the popular rhetoric ignores, that'll be quite surprising.

The question of whether or not we should have conscription for the Defence Force has received much public comments in recent months. Unfortunately most of that comment has been either ill-informed or has sprung from a desire to achieve some or other political end, rather than being based on any analysis of the military and economic factors involved or being intended to improve our defence system.

The prize for the ultimate thoughtless statement in this regard must go to Sir Richard Luyt, who argued that a "just cause" -- whatever that might be -- does not need conscription because people will voluntarily flock to its defence. On that basis, the Allied effort in WW I, WW II and Korea was not just. Nor is the cause of most NATO partners, Austria, Sweden or Switzerland, among others.

The question of whether or not we should have conscription is one that must be discussed on the losis of the manpower needs of the Defence Force. Once these are established terms of overall numbers, the size of standing force needed, the size and degree of readiness required of any reserves, and the quality and type of manpower needed, the discussion must turn to the question of how best to provide the requisite manpower at the minimum cost.

The manpower needs of the Defence Force, in turn, can only be arrived at after analysis of the possible threats, which must be evaluated in terms of severity and likelihood. Generally, the most severe will fortunately also be the least likely, which happy fact frees nations from the need for permanent mobilisation. It does not, however, free them from the need to

consider how to deal with such a threat should it in fact materialise after all -- or from the need to be prepared to deal with it. Any failure to do so will almost inevitably result in the "unlikely" threat becoming reality. Vacuums in defence policy and capability obey all of the laws applying to other vacuums -- most notably, something will act to fill the vacuum.

South Africa is potentially faced with four major threats:

- 1. Insurgency;
- 2. Conventional assault by an African force;
- 3. Conventional assault by an extra-African proxy force;
- 4. A combination of the above.

It does not help to argue that we would not be faced with these potential threats if we followed a different set of internal policies.

Specifically, this does not help because:

- 1. The potential threats do not exist and must therefore be addressed in military terms as well as in other terms;
- 2. The sad fact is that a different set of internal policies would in all probability do little to change the threat situation.

Before casting this article to the winds in reaction to point two above, please consider how many countries which have "one man one vote in a unitary state" still suffer the problems of terrorism and incipient or even open insurgency, and how many are faced with the threat of conventional assault despite not being ruled by the National Party or its local equivalent. Africa, Asia and Latin America abound with examples and even Europe, usually considered to be peaceful, has its Basque and Ulster problems, its Action Direct, its Red Army Fraction (and Fraction is correct), its Red Brigades and others.

Quite apart from our own internal divisions -- racial, tribal, political and economic -- which will always hold strong potential for strife, South Africa is whether we like it or not strategically important in the East-West scenario.

Not only do we sit astride one of only two reliable war time sea routes between the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian and Pacific Oceans -- the canals are too easily closed -- we are also next door neighbours of two of the Soviets' most useful client states -- Angola and Mozambique -- along that route and South Africa holds vast reserves of strategically vital minerals and effectively controls much of the mineral production of the rest of Southern Africa by virtue of being the only industrialised state in the region. South Africa is thus of considerable importance to the major blocs in terms of their economic and military strategy. South Africa is also a source of serious embarrassment to the Soviet Union by virtue of having a functioning economy which contrasts starkly with those of the Soviet client states in the rest of Africa. Anything that can serve to disrupt that economy will therefore be very welcome to them indeed.

South Africa's importance in the East-West scenario alone would suffice to ensure that all four main potential threats will remain alive regardless of who is governing South Africa or how. The one exception might be if we became a Soviet client state. By then, however, the West might well have recovered sufficiently from Vietnam to be more aggressive in its defence and we might find Western sponsors behind the insurgents crossing our borders. Coupled with the strong potential for internal strife even without external interference, South Africa's strategic importance virtually guarantees foreign interference of all kinds -- including military in one or another form.

Insurgency and terrorism are the most likely manifestations of this situation. Both are easily initiated in any country and much more so in a country with unresolved internal differences. Both are a very economical option for their sponsors and are politically safe in that they can be readily denied and even dropped if necessary. The mounting of an insurgency against South Africa has the further advantage of provoking preemptive and retaliatory strikes into the insurgents' host nations which then provides an excellent reason for stationing external military forces in such countries. Finally, insurgency and terrorism will inevitably result in the imposition of more or less repressive measures in the target country if it is to combat them effectively. The target country's image in the eyes of western countries is thereby damaged, making it difficult for it to obtain support.

The potential for conventional attack lies in the uncertainty of insurgency as a means of installing a client government. Insurgency is not only a very slow means to this end, with highly unpredictable timings, it is also uncertain to topple the existing government and even when it does, it may not result in the installation of the desired client. Zimbabwe provides a good example of this problem. Any weakness in the conventional military capability of the target country is therefore a strong temptation to exercise the conventional option which is quicker and under full control. A variation is to first weaken the target country by means of protracted insurgency and then deliver the coup de grace by means of a conventional assault. Vietnam is an excellent example of this approach.

In the case of South Africa, the conventional option could involve either a purely African force or, rather more likely, a core "imported" proxy force supported by African elements. The limits to such an operation are not primarily logistic, as so many would like to believe. The limits to such an operation are not primarily logistic, as so many would like to believe. The limits lie in the area of perceptions. Any such operation holds both costs and risks -- chiefly in terms of embarrassment in the event of failure or undue delay -- for the sponsoring power. It will thus only exercise this option if success is assured within attractive cost parameters. South Africa can thus "dissuade" possible sponsors by fielding a conventional force sufficiently large to raise the stakes of a conventional adventure to an unacceptable level.

Should South Africa fail to develop and maintain sufficiently "dissuasive" force levels, the conventional option will be potentially very attractive

to the Soviets. Not only would it bring about the desired political result in South Africa -- and Southern Africa -- quickly, certainly and unambiguously, it would also bring enormous advantages in terms of image in the eyes of the Third World and would serve to keep doubting client states in line. A move of this nature would even give the West pause for thought by demonstrating a willingness and ability to take direct and forceful action when deemed worthwhile.

These are unhappy realities which will not go away simply because we do not like them. We must therefore learn to live with them and do our best to maintain a defence posture that will address the insurgency threat, deter minor power conventional aggression and "dissuade" -- we are too small to deter -- the major powers from pursuing any conventional adventure against us.

At present the SADF has a standing force of around 80,000 (30,000 PF, 50,000 National Servicemen) backed up by some 320,000 members of the Citizen Force and Commandos. This is fairly close to the minimum force level required to provide an effective element of dissuasion cum deterrence and to deal with insurgency should it materialise.

The overall strength could be reduced by moving over to a purely full-time force, but not by as much as is often thought. Both the Air Force and the Navy take up relatively small portions of the available manpower, are already to a large extent manned by full-time personnel, and neither can realistically be reduced in strength. If anything, both should be expanded, in terms of both equipment and manpower. This leaves only the Army as an area in which it is possible to consider major changes to the system.

At present the Army has a theoretical manpower base of around 350,000 according to publically available figures. The question is thus by how much this figure could be reduced if we went over to either a fully professional Army or a mix of professional soldiers and volunteer members of the Citizen Force.

A credible conventional force will need a mobilised strength of around 150,000 as a minimum which could not be reduced by virtue of using full-time soldiers rather than reservists. The conventional force simply needs to be able to field a certain number of uns and formations in the event of war, regardless of the source of the manpower.

The counter-insurgency/internal security role will require a similar force level of around 150,000 if this is largely made up of part-time personnel. A full-time force could possibly meet the requirement with a strength of some 60,000. Again, the problem lies in the fact that we are dealing with something that is to a large extent a numbers game in which quality will not suffice to fully balance out a lack of quantity.

We are thus looking at a minimum Army mobilisable strength of around 210,000 men. This is a force level which we simply cannot afford to meet on the basis of full-time personnel only. The British have found that a full-time

private soldier costs more than R30,000 per annum in personnel costs. The figure for our minimum force would thus be upwards of R6,3 billion in personnel costs alone. We would then still have to pay Air Force, Navy and general Defence Force personnel expenses before we could even begin to consider exercises, operations and procurement of equipment, ammunition, et al. Compare this with our total 1984/85 defence budget of R3,7 billion.

Even assuming that we could make do with a very much smaller force of only say 100,000 men, we would still be looking at a personnel costs bill of R3 billion for the Army alone. That force of 100,000 would, however, require quite a large reserve of volunteer citizen force members if it is to be at all viable, and these would up the bill some more.

So much for the purely cash picture.

Let us now look at another aspect, that of the shortage of skilled and potentially skilled labour in the South African economy. A present complaint is that the conscription system draws too many men out of the economy into unproductive work.

The situation is that each year we have the standing force of around 70,000 actually in the Army for the entire year. To this figure must be added 1/12th of the Citizen Force and Commando strength of approximately 290,000, which is some 24,000. (The basis here is one 30 day camp per member per year). Some do serve longer periods, but others are not called up at all in a given year, so this is probably a safe estimate). We are therefore looking at a maximum of around 94,000 man years being taken up by the Army each year. Going over to a fully professional Army would increase this to some 210,000 man years per year.

Even the dangerously small 100,000 man Army would exceed the present drain on man years -- without even taking into account the further drain on man years represented by the need for a reserve element to make it viable.

To make matters worse, a standing force is always to some extent a "force in being", that is to say a force that has nothing much to do bar exist. It is bad enough having this problem with a standing force of around 70,000; it will be a really serious problem with a force of 210,000.

Things, however, get still worse before we finish with the question of manpower drain.

Warfare is becoming increasingly technological and electronic in its conduct. It is also speeding up at a frightening rate and is stretching from the day-light hours into a twenty-four hour situation. The result is that ever-increasing demands are being made on the individual soldier's ability to think, to think for himself, to handle complex equipment and to do so over ever longer periods without break. The greatest changes in this regard are taking place in the sphere of ground warfare. Armies are thus no longer able to make do with "just anyone" in most posts. Instead, the Army is today in a position of needing much the same person who is needed in industry and the economy: the man who can and does think and who is at home in a technologically complex environment.

This, unfortunately, is exactly the type of man we are most short of in our economy.

A full-time Army would thus not only drain more man years from the economy, it would drain especially those which the economy needs most if it is to grow. This is particularly relevant to any attempt to speed up the progress our Black population is making in its transition from a "third world" economy to a "first world" economy. The very people among the Black population most likely to make this crucial transition with relative ease -- and then to draw their compatriots after them -- are those whom a professional Army would be seeking to recruit in large numbers.

Some may question the need for having a large standing force at all, perhaps arguing for maintaining just a small training cadre of Permanent Force personnel and relying on a volunteer reserve for the fighting force.

The need for a relatively powerful standing force arises from the simple fact that the lack of such a force brings unacceptable difficulties and dangers. In the absence of a standing force capable of dealing with relatively minor threats and of covering the full mobilisation of the remaining forces in the face of a major threat, one is left with only four options in the face of a developing threat:

- 1. Accept that, if an attack materialises, the attacking force will be able to penetrate into the country and enjoy almost complete freedom of action to rampage about until the volunteer reserve fighting force is fully mobilised;
- 2. Throw forces at the attacker piecemeal as they mobilise and invite the probability of having them destroyed in detail to little or no effect;
- 3. Pre-empt the potential attack by mobilising fully at the first sign of a serious threat developing, and destroying the potential attacking force; or
- 4. Mobilise -- either fully, or at least a large portion of the fighting force -- at the first sign of a serious threat developing and stay mobilised until it "goes away."

The first two options are simply recipes for defeat and thus not acceptable. The only way in which they might be made at all palatable under some circumstances would be by investing vast amounts of money in serried ranks of prepared defences and multiple stockpiles of equipment in all threatened areas. This would allow only troops to be moved on mobilisation rather than troops with their vehicles and equipment -- but only at the cost of having a full set of equipment for each formation in each threat area to which it might be deployed, rather than only one set per formation. Even were this money to be spent, this would still not offer security against a fast-moving and well-led attacking force making use of air power, airborne forces, special forces and insurgents. Fixed, unmanned defences and lightly guarded stockpiles are far too easily seized or destroyed. All that would be needed, for example, would be one medium range missile with a warhead containing some persistent chemical to render a stockpile or fixed defense area useless.

The third option, launching a major offensive in reaction to any developing major threat to pre-empt the possibility of an attack, is simply not on. Certainly preemption is one of the most effective ways of dealing with a developing attack, but this is not an option that can be the only basis of a defense policy. The potential for disaster that is inherent in such restricted defence policy was all too clearly demonstrated in 1914. Once their respective mobilisations had come under way, not one of the powers involved could risk stopping the process lest one of the others did not. The differentials between standing force and mobilised strengths were simply far too great.

Interestingly -- or perhaps perversely -- the very reliance on a purely militia fighting force which demands pre-emption if it is to succeed, also renders pre-emption extremely difficult to carry out successfully. No action at all can be taken without largescale mobilisation which is impossible to keep secret. Such a defence policy will thus always advertise its intentions well in advance -- to the considerable advantage of the enemy.

The fourth option, mobilising without launching a pre-emptive attack, will on the other hand paralyse a large part of the economy to no purpose until the potential threat can be identified as not serious or "goes away". This is asking for national destruction by mobilisation, laying the country open to economic chaos every time a potentially hostile state flexes its military muscle or rattles its sabres. This is a problem faced by, for instance, Israel. Israel is physically so small that, in the absence of a standing force larger than she can afford to maintain, she has no real choice other than to pre-empt an expected attack. Failure to do so in 1973 came perilously close to losing her the war despite the advantage of then still holding the entire Sinai Peninsula. Unfortunately the mere fact that South Africa is physically larger than Israel does not negate this problem, although it could allow a relatively smaller standing force to provide the necessary cover.

All of these problems are to a great extent avoided by the simple expedient of fielding a standing force powerful enough to deter small-scale adventures or to cover full mobilisation to deal with a major attack. A standing force of around the size which we maintain at present is thus indispensable.

To return briefly to the cash question: Given that a standing force is essential, which is the more practical proposition -- a force of National Servicemen perenially at the bottom end of the pay scales, or one of Permanent Force soldiers who are constantly edging up the pay scales, have families to support and look after medically, want housing subsidies, insurance policies and pensions?

At this stage some readers may feel that the above argument is negated by the example of Switzerland. Switzerland does, after all, make do with a standing force of only some 20,000 (1,500 PF instructors and 18,500 national service recruits). There is, however, a key difference in the military situation. Switzerland lies geographically in the centre of the NATO/Warsaw Pact confrontation, an area that is very sensitive indeed to any major military

activity. The game of mobilisation or shifting units around simply to force the opponent to mobilise his militia army and thereby destroy his economy, is thus simply not a proposition there. By the same token, there is unlikely to be any major change in the forces deployed opposite the country. Switzerland thus enjoys the benefits of a largely frozen strategic situation in addition to those conferred by its favourable terrain. Then too, NATO cannot sit by and watch an attack on Switzerland, which fact further reduces the options available to any potential attacker.

Finally, let us look at one political problem. Countries with developing economic and social systems have long been particularly prone to "unorthodox" changes of government. Very often it has been the military which has occasioned such changes. A fully or even largely professional military establishment is much more prone to think in this direction and much more capable of executing such thoughts than is an essentially militia system such as we have today.

Thus, while a fully professional Defense Force is at first glance a very attractive proposition, it is also one that will bring with it heavy costs in cash and development terms and which will carry some measure of political risk. It is also much more likely to suffer penny-pinching which will result in a Defence Force too small or too ill-equipped to perform its tasks effectively. South Africa, we must remember, has a long history of neglecting defence. So far we have always managed to "get away with it". This is not something we can reasonably bet on doing yet again.

To close, let us please be clear about what we are doing and why. Any thoughtful debate of our defence situation and system is healthy, very welcome and long overdue. It will only be worthwhile, however, if it is based on relevant considerations. Calling for changes in the defence system as such simply because one does not agree with how elements of the Defense Force are being employed by the government of the day, is not in any way helpful. By all means disagree with the government on this point, but do not seek to tinker with the defence system itself on this basis. That is closely akin to shooting the bearer of bad tidings, something of which the government is often accused.

/12851 cso: 3400/680

PRAISE FOR POLICEMEN'S HIGH MORALE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Dec 85 p 2

[Text] In spite of the enemy's violence and intimidation against them, Black policemen remain determined to uphold law and order and have retained their high morale, Major General J J Van Niekerk said yesterday.

General Van Niekerk was speaking at a ceremony where the South African Police handed over the keys of a new housing complex in Dunnottar to Black policemen whose homes had been burnt down during the unrest in Duduza township.

The 56 new homes were completed in six months and there are one and two bedroom units. Each home has electricity and hot and cold running water.

The new houses were a result of a united police effort to show that the force was one big family who cared for its members and wanted to help alleviate the suffering caused to the families, General Van Niekerk said.

He said that since the unrest began in September last year 568 houses of Black South African policemen had been burnt down or were severely damaged. On the East Rand the number stood at 78 houses.

"I am very satisfied that the Black policemen have displayed high morale and are determined to retain their faith in themselves as fathers and as policemen," he said.

Detective Warrant Officer S T Sibaca thanked the police force on behalf of the 56 recipient policemen for helping the people, who only a few months ago had lost everything and felt there was no future at all.

"These beautiful new homes have made our future safe and we are proud to be members of the South African Police. The public can be assured that every member of the police force is committed to the maintenance of law and order in our country and no amount of intimidation will stop us in this pursuit," Mr Sibaca said.

/13047

HEUNIS ON HOW AFFLUENT WILL FINANCE TOWNSHIP NEEDY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 19 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Eric Larsen]

[Text]

THE introduction of Regional Services Councils next year will mean a transfer of income from the more affluent societies to the more needy societies, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis said yesterday.

Mr Heunis, after a daylong tour of seven East Rand townships, said the income of the councils would be spent in areas "where the needs are the

greatest"

"It will be expended on infrastructures and I believe that from this point of view, we should all support this idea" Mr Heunis told Black mayors and town councillors from the East Rand townships.

Collective

He said the idea behind establishing Regional Services Councils was that a service could be provided to communities on a collective basis. "This implies that you can have the benefit of economies of scale that will reduce the costs to the (town) councils".

The new councils would enable local authorities to act collectively on communal matters, he explained.

Mr Heunis said he hoped it would be possible to establish the councils in areas where the population density was highest.

The Mayor of Daveyton, Mr Tom Boya, thanked Mr Heunis for his positive attitude and hoped that after his visit to the townships the Minister would do something about town councillors' complaints.

Right foot

"Most of the problems we have in this country are linked to lack of communication and you have started on the right foot," said Mr Boya.

He said one of the major problems on the East Rand was a lack of housing and land must be made available as cheaply as possible. The Government, private sector and individuals could do much to combat housing problems, said the mayor.

Black mayors, town councillors and the Press accompanied Mr Heunis on the tour, which started in Daveyton at 7.30 am.

Walkabout

During the tour through Daveyton, Mr Heunis stopped the tour bus and took a stroll down a street, chatting to residents and asking them if they had any problems.

After leaving Daveyton, the tour party was joined by a busload of riot police, who remained for the rest of the trip.

In Kwa Thema, the next stop, Mr Heunis, was shown the building site for the new town council offices as well as the site of the old town council administration offices, which were destroyed by rioters in July.

At the Kwa Thema police station, the Minister chatted with a group of soldiers. "I appreciate what you are doing," he told them.

Concern

Mr Heunis also visited a migrant labourers' hostel in Kwa Thema and expressed concern about living conditions there. He appealed to town councillors to look into the possibility of upgrading the hostel.

While touring Katlehong, Mr Heunis paid an impromptu visit to a group of hawkers selling food and homemade clothing. He suggested to the Katlehong Mayor, Mr Thami Silume, that permanent stalls should be built and that rubbish containers should be provided at the site.

In Katlehong, Mr Heunis visited a squatter camp and appeared horrified by conditions there. He told the regional representative of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr J Korff, that the camp must be monitored and alternative accommodation found for the squatters.

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cso: 3400/731

BRIEFS

POLICE BRIEFLY DETAIN SIX JOURNALISTS—Johannesburg, Dec 22, SAPA—Police to-day briefly detained six foreign and local newsmen outside the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela in Soweto where she was arrested for contravening her restriction order, SABC—TV news reported. The correspondents were apparently detained for a breach of the emergency regulations which prohibit news coverage in Soweto. Among those detained were Allister Sparks of the WASHINGTON POST, Alan Cowell of the NEW YORK TIMES, Michael Parks of the LOS ANGELES TIMES, and Gideon Mendal, a South African photographer working for AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1924 GMT 22 Dec 85 MB] /12712

NEL COMMENTS ON TV BAN, SANCTIONS, ANC--The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, says the decision to ban television cameras from emergency areas was correct because they are catalysts for violence. Speaking in a BBC television program, Mr Nel said it had become quite clear to the South African Government that the mere presence of television crews often acted as a catalyst for further violence. He said it was not a question of the effect on South Africa's image abroad but of ending the violence. Mr Nel said the sanctions campaign against South Africa was nothing but organized violence and would not bring about conditions which could be condusive to peaceful change. Should the campaign be successful it would increase unemployment which would lead to frustration and this in turn often led to violence. Asked why the government would not release Nelson Mandela, Mr Nel said Mandela would be free if he renounced violence. With regard to the turmoil in the country, Mr Nel said that the ANC did not want the reforms in progress to succeed. He said the ANC and other radical groups had begun desperate attempts to bring about a situation which would halt reform. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 20 Dec 85 MB] /12712

OFFICIALS RETURN FROM VISIT TO MALAWI--Pretoria, Dec 20, SAPA--South Africa has made several proposals to the Malawian Government which could extend relations between the two countries, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ron Miller said today on his return from a visit to Malawi. Mr Miller and the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr, met the Malawian Life President, Dr Hastings Banda, during a two-day visit to Blantyre and Lilongwe, the ministers said in a joint statement from Pretoria. Mr Miller said relations between Malawi and South Africa were on a very sound footing and that there was excellent cooperation. "In fact, a number of proposals for the extension of

relations between our two countries have been submitted to President Banda and his cabinet for their consideration." The ministers trip followed a recent visit to Pretoria by a Malawian Government trade delegation, according to the statement. Mr Durr said he had talks with leading cabinet ministers and the governor of the Reserve Bank of Malawi. "Past successful projects were reviewed, and new attractice developments were identified," he said. "Further discussion and planning will now take place between the departments concerned." The ministers said they also met members of the private sector. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1241 GMT 20 Dec 85 MB] /12712

TRANSFER OF INCOME—The minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis, says the income of Regional Services Councils [RSC's] will be used where the need is the greatest and will mean a transfer of income from the better off to the less well off sections of communities. Speaking at Kempton Park after a visit to seven black municipalities on the East Rand, Mr Heunis said he had again realized how important Regional Service Councils would be in planning on the regional level. The council system would also, through joint responsibility and the provision of services, lead to cost saving. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 19 Dec 85] /9604

CIVIL DEFENSE CENTER--Pretoria, 19 Dec (SAPA)--Pretoria is to be the home of the first Civil Defence Constrol Centre in the country, according to the deputy chief of civil defence, Mr Hennie Fouche. The two-storey building, costing R4 million, would be specially constructed to withstand natural or man-made disasters, and would be partially situated underground, Mr Fouche said today. He added the centre, which is in its final planning stages, would serve as a coordinating control point, would have extensive training facilities and would house civil defence offices. [Text]
[Johannesburg SAPA in English 1605 GMT 19 Dec 85] /9604

MINE-PROOF VEHICLE--Johannesburg, 17 Dec (SAPA)--A new high security, mine-proof vehicle, specially designed for private use in South Africa's border areas, is being developed by a South African security company. Development of the vehicle was prompted by the laying of a number of landmines in South Africa's northern area by insurgents. The manufacturers said in a statement that the vehicle had been made by rebuilding a truck body with special steel and bullet-resistant glass. The vital engine components of the eight-passenger vehicle were well-protected, the statement said, and the vehicle was "secured to levels which comply with international standards." A retail price for the vehicle has not yet been set. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1819 GMT 17 Dec 85] /9604

DUTCH MINISTER DETAINED--Cape Town, 18 Dec (SAPA)--Police have confirmed the detention of the Reverend Russell Botman, a Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk [Dutch Reformed Church] minister from Wynberg, 28 days after he was held in terms of emergency regulations. Mr Botman was detained on 20 November, but his name has not appeared on the official police lists of detainees. The Police Directorate of Public Relations said in Pretoria today in reply to a telex that "The Reverend Russell Botman is being detained in terms of emergency regulations. His name appeared on our records subsequent to last Friday's list." A statement by the Wynberg ring of the church deplored his detention and demanded his immediate release. "Reverend Botman...is a minister of the gospel, and a servant of peace and justice and therefore it is completely unacceptable that a man of God can be treated in an arbitrary way like this. We not only demand his release but also that of other detainees. We also ... appeal to the state for a free, democratic and just society." [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1827 GMT 18 Dec 85] /9604

REACTION TO WINNIE MANDELA ARREST REPORT

MB230923 London BBC World Service in English 0709 GMT 23 Dec 85

[From the "24 hours" program introduced by Brian Empringham]

[Text] Mrs Winnie Mandela represents an awkward problem for the government. As the wife of the imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, she is an important figurehead, but she is also a considerable politician in her own right, with a strong following among black South Africans. Mrs Mandela is now being held in prison at Krugersdorp near Johannesburg. After her expulsion from Soweto, but before her current detention she explained her experience:

[Begin recording] [Mandela] I was [words indistinct] to the car in a most humiliating manner. My life was completely at their mercy. They then stopped outside the airport Holiday Inn and just dumped me there and they drove off at a very high speed. I am here, back in my house with the full knowledge which they told me that if they ever find that I set my foot in the house they will eliminate me. I am aware that they can walk in any minute now and take my life as they said they will do.

[Empringham] To gauge early reaction to the arrest of Mrs Mandela, we turned to Molly Blackburn, a member of the civil rights group, Black Sash:

[Blackburn] I think that the whole principle of banning people needs far greater exposure than it is getting at present. I also think that if Mrs Mandela's arrest is for breaking the terms of her banning order and if she has done it deliberately, then it is very possibly being done to emphasize the appalling procedure of banning, which in so many ways it can be said to be a living death for the people who have been banned. You are in fact a non-person. I think the more one thinks about it the more one has to accept that only a frightened minority government would resort to such total disregard for the rule of law by banning and therefore silencing its political opponents. If Mrs Mandela has done this to focus world attention, then it is a very brave act on her part.

[Empringham] Once Mrs Mandela decided to reenter Soweto in open defiance of the government order banning her from doing so, it may be that the authorities felt they had no alternative but to arrest her. Oliver Scott turned to Alister Sparks, who reports for the OBSERVER from Johannesburg. What were her motives in going back?

[Sparks] Mrs Mandela's attitude is that she is not going to cooperate in any way with any restriction order that is imposed on her. I spoke to her shortly before her arrest and she told me that she said to the police that she refused to voluntarily comply with the new order. Her attitude is that a petrol bomb was thrown at her house in Brandfort, she believes it was an attempt to assassinate her, she accuses the police of that, and, as she put it, I am not going to cooperate in my own extermination.

[Scott] What sort of effects is her detention, her renewed detention, likely to have on black opinion in South Africa?

[Sparks] Well, I think black opinion in general is very politicized. This will politicize it some more. Soweto, in particular, is in a very tense state. When I went in there it was full of troops and police heavily armed patrolling the streets surrounding the police station, and I think generally that the level of tension in Soweto and elsewhere in the country is steadily rising all the time and this will have notched it up some more.

[Scott] The chain of events appears to be inexorable. Seeing from the point of view of the security forces, did they have any alternative other than to detain her when she went back into Soweto?

[Sparks] What seems to have happened is that the authorities are trying to finesse a situation that had become politically very embarassing for her. [as heard] Mrs Mandela has been taking advantage of the fact that there is a lot of pressure on the government now to release her husband, Nelson Mandela, and to begin negotiations with the ANC. Because of that pressure, they have tended to take a more benign attitude toward her. She therefore has moved freely about the country, she has been openly defying her banning order, and this had reached a point where I think the government was finding it politically extremely embarassing and either had to stop her or unban her and it tried to finesse it with a kind of combination of a concession and an eviction. It issued a new restriction order quite substantially relaxing the restrictions on her, but saying that she couldn't live in Soweto itself where her home is and so they tried to evict her, but she is refusing to go.

[Scott] In short then, have these stakes been raised all around in the past 24 hours?

[Sparks] Yes, I think they have and I think that the authorities have got a whole new problem on their hands, very largely of their making once again. [end recording]

/12712

cso: 3400/693

LEBOWA ELITE BELIEVES NATION'S VIOLENCE JUSTIFIED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Dec 85 p 8

[Article by John D'Oliveira, Editor of The Star's Africa News Service: "Lebowa Elite Believes SA Violence Justified - 'Survey Contradicts Agitator Theory'"]

[Text]

The black elite in at least one of South Africa's tribal homelands is almost as radical as it is in the country's troubled, violent urban townships.

This is the chilling message from a survey conducted in the Lebowa homeland by Professor Johan Malan, professor of anthropology at the University of the North, Turfloop. It is due to be published in the December issue of the Africa Institute's Bulletin.

A total of 120 Lebowa secondary school teachers, teacher training college lecturers and government officials completed Professor Malan's questionnaire — and more than three-quarters (78 percent) approved the politically inspired activities by schoolchildren and students which many observers believe is a major component of the present unrest in South Africa.

JUSTIFIED

And, while some of the respondents were against the use of violence, they all believed student actions on moral grounds as a form of protest against discriminatory policies by the white Government were justified.

"Even damage to buildings, injuries to people and other forms of physical violence are mostly described as the inevitable consequence of the policy of apartheid."

Professor Malan said most respondents evaluated student actions not against the background of educational interests but against the background of the medium- and long-term political objectives of

the black community.

"In this context, they regarded these activities as an indispensable front in the liberation struggle of the black man.

"The general contention is that, if less boycotts and violence occur, the Government will not be embarrassed enough to consider the dismantling of apartheid in order to allow for the realisation of the political aspirations of the black majority.

"Hence the reluctance to denounce any organisation or movement that may be of assistance in this regard."

The Lebowa group was divided on the issue of disinvestment: 52,5 percent emphasised the detrimental effects of disinvestment while 40,8 percent approved of it as a political strategy, saying they would be prepared to suffer as long as disinvestment served a positive purpose in the liberation struggle.

There was division, too, when the group was asked to evaluate present political trends in South Africa — 60,8 percent said they were not convinced that the movement was in the right direction while 33,3 percent said they believed it was.

Professor Malan commented: "Most people still discern the basic fabric of separate development in the constitutional reform programme, and reject it outright."

Most respondents rejected the President's Council and the tricameral Parliament outright and said they saw in them determined efforts to entrench apartheid and

deliberately to exclude blacks from any future participation in South African politics on an equal basis.

More than 90 percent labelied tribalism as grossly over-emphasised in South Africa and saw it as a mechanism used by whites to divide and rule the black majority.

Fewer than 10 percent said they favoured independence for Lebowa.

Professor Malan commented:
"The feeling was expressed that the
acceptance of independence by national states jeopardises the ideal
of a united South Africa in which
all its citizens are ruled by a single
government and equally share in
the wealth of the country."

On the desirability of a general franchise which might lead to political domination by the more numerous Xhosa or Zulu people, 54.2 percent were in favour (although not unconditionally) while 44.2 percent were against it.

"To the majority, this thought is so appealing that they opted for it — regardless of the consequences — as long as it serves the purpose of terminating white domination of South African politics.

"Most of them dismissed the possibility of inequality, discrimination and even tyranny that might emerge from the domination of one ethnic group over the others."

The predominant view of Professor Malan's respondents was that coloured people were not black, did not understand the blacks and thus could not speak on their behalf.

"Even if the coloureds do align themselves with the black cause, they are distrusted for having betrayed the blacks by accepting the new constitutional dispensation from which the blacks are excluded.

"The same degree of antipathy was revealed against the Indians.

AGGRAVATING FACTOR

"A further aggravating factor against them was that they were regarded as foreigners who were actually not entitled to any rights in the country."

When it came to relations with the whites, the Lebowa elite attributed no negative inputs whatsoever to the black community — thus, in Professor Malan's words, "seeing themselves without exception as the innocent victims of an evil regime".

Most of the respondents (83,3 percent) said they believed in a classless, multi-racial society.

Survey Contradicts Agitator Theory

A survey of elite attitudes in Lebowa contradicted the widely held view that the unrest in South Africa was mainly due to the activities of agitators.

Commenting on the survey, Dr Erich Leistner, director of the Africa Institute of South Africa, said the degree to which teachers in the homeland identified themselves with their pupils' radical attitudes and demands was "striking".

The survey was conducted by Professor Johann Malan, of the University of the North, who questioned 120 members of the Lebowa Government Service, including teachers, teacher training college lecturers and government officials.

Its results will be published in the latest issue of the Africa Institute Bulletin, together with articles by Dr Stan Schoeman, an institute researcher, and Dr Leistner.

In his article, Dr Leistner said the survey confirmed the view that very little agitation was needed to switch a community with deep-rooted dissatisfaction and resentment to active protest. He stressed that the survey was based on the opinions of an elite group in an overwhelmingly rural millieu — a group which served a government which many of them rejected.

"One can surmise that the answers would have been much sharper had the survey been conducted in one of the metropolitan areas.

"They will certainly not exercise any restraining influence on their pupils . . ."

Dr Leistner said the survey, together with the analysis by Dr Schoeman, contradicted simplistic, single-cause interpretations which held that the present unrest in South Africa was purely a reaction to racial discrimination or suppression or that it was solely due to hostile agitation.

He said Dr Schoeman had showed that a combination of factors was present.

What was of considerable importance was that the widespread dissatisfaction — brought on by a combination of factors — was attributed solely to "apartheid" by the dissatisfied people and their supporters.

/12851 CSO: 3400/681

BUTHELEZI WARNS AGAINST USING VIOLENCE

MB190447 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1811 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Text] Durban, Dec (SAPA)--The KwaZulu chief minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, today warned the Inkatha members would not allow themselves to be "push-overs" for those wanting to use violence to stop Inkatha fighting apartheid through democratic opposition.

Speaking at a year-end function of the KwaZulu Department of Economic Affairs, the Inkatha president said: "We do not mind if people disagree with us, but we are not talking here about differences in opinion only.

"Black South Africa seems to have decided to use violence for political purposes without any compunction."

He said Inkatha had stressed that it believed in a "multi-strategy approach" and had never claimed to be the only organisation that had answers for South Africa's problems.

"We have recognised that all forces for change have a contribution to make in finding a solution. We therefore believe that we have a moral right to defend what we in Inkatha have decided to do about our problems.

"We have never interfered with other people in carrying out their own strategies. We in turn do not expect anyone to interfere with us when we do what we have decided to do, and we will defend what we do with all the means at our command, even with our very lives," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha believed in non-violence as a strategy for change.

He said he probably had the most difficult role of any politician in South Africa and every step he took was watched by people beyond the country's borders.

"There is so much conflict among our people that anything is exploited by many operators to put me in a very negative light. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the case of the Ingwavuma district.

"I realise under what personal risk our personnel have to carry out their duties in a district which has become as hot a potato as Ingwavuma has become.

"Although the South African Government has stated that they will never try to deal with the issue of Ingwavuma unilaterally, it is well-known that the chief of the Tembe tribe is being manipulated both by certain officials of Pretoria and also by high-ranking personalities in Swaziland.

"In these circumstances, there have been many people who have tried to put a spanner into the works each time we introduce projects in Ingwavuma for the benefit of that district."

/9604

UDF REJECTS CHARGES OF PROMOTING SUBVERSION

MB230954 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1639 GMT 22 Dec 85

[Text] Cape Town, Dec 22, SAPA--The United Democratic Front (UDF) tonight rejected charges from the director of publications that the front promotes "intransigent subversion of authority, rejection of same dialogue and of undermining law, order, the army and the police."

The Director, Mr S.E. du Toit, made the charges in response to a request from the Observatory/Claremont area committee of the UDF for reasons for the banning of the October edition of its publication, UPFRONT.

He replied that the publications committee had declared the publication undesirable because:

"(The UDF) is favourably disposed towards the (banned) ANC and (the also banned) COSAS [Congress of South African Students], and if the policy it advocated were to be carried out, South Africa would erupt in flames—and not the least victims would be the duped blacks who seek salvation in the UDF."

The interim organizer of the UDF's regional executive in the western Cape, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, said tonight the directorate's reasons banning UPFRONT "charges the UDF with an accusation which was rejected by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court, which recently withdrew treason charges against 12 of our leaders."

"It appears from the reasons he has given that the publications directorate sees itself as standing above the judiciary."

The UDF remained committed to peaceful protest against apartheid and "will continue to use this method to voice our people's objections to the abhorrent political system of this country," he said.

/12712

cso: 3400/693

LETTER SUPPORT FOR MODERATE BLACKS URGED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 85 p 13

[Text]

SOUTH Africans were yesterday called on to send letters to the State President asking for support for moderate Blacks "who are increasingly finding that they cannot afford any longer to stay moderate".

Mr Gunnar Wiebalck, director of United Christian Action, said it was clear that the destruction of Black moderates in South Africa was one of the most important objectives of the communist-based African National Congress.

The ANC had made it clear at UNO that it would destroy "by terrorism any alternative or moderate voice to the ANC".

Nobel Peace Prize winner and Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu, was also on record as branding Blacks as traitors, said Mr Wiebalck.

He quoted from a

speech made in 1982 by Bishop Tutu: "Make no mistake about it, if you go over to the other side, then the day of reckoning will come. This is not a threat, it is just the plain truth. Blacks will never forget that you were traitors to the liberation struggle," Bishop Tutu said, according to UCA.

He cited examples of Black moderates who were suffering because of their moderate stand.

For instance, Black Mayor Thamsanqua Linda, president of the 74 town councils of the Eastern Cape, was receiving constant death treats through the mail and by telephone. His house had been totally destroyed in a petrol bomb attack in August this year — as were the houses of his parents and parents-in-law.

In addition his business premises had been destroyed and looted:

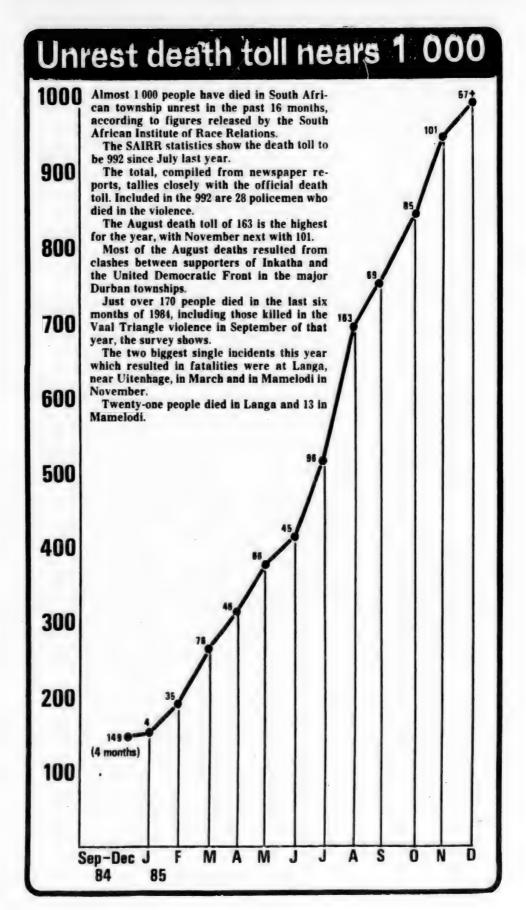
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cso: 3400/681

UNREST DEATH TOLL NEARS 1,000

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Dec 85 p 8

[Text] [See chart on next page.]



/12851 CSO: 3400/681

CONTINUING CONSUMER BOYCOTT BRINGS VARIOUS REACTIONS

Whites Must Actively Work for Change

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Dec 85 p 15

[Text]

The consumer boycott is meant to involve both blacks and whites in efforts to change the South Africa system and introduce a new order, a spokesman of the Consumer Boycott Committee (CBC) said yesterday.

He said the boycott might have serious consequences for the black community but it was not aimed at them. The boycott was aimed at white businessmen to get them to become involved in the fight against the South African Government if they wanted change.

The spokesman said many white people just talked in passing about change without doing anything positive.

"They have to be forced to actively participate in efforts to bring about change," he said.

The organisers of the consumer boycott said it was unfortunate that in the process many blacks suffered.

"It is not our intention to drag people kicking and screaming towards independence. We would be happier if they willingly got involved.

"We apologise for the overexuberance of some of our cadres when monitoring the boycott," he said.

The spokesman said black people had nothing to celebrate while the state of emergency, detentions and police action against the people were continuing.

"How can you enjoy Christmas with police vehicles cruising near your home? Will the curfew be lifted for the traditional New Year's Eve celebrations?" he asked.

Coercion Angers Township Residents

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Dec 85 p 15

[Article by Rich Mkhondo]

[Text] The consumer boycott in force in all townships in the PWV area has antagonised many residents who say they have had just about enough of being coerced into supporting one call after another

Residents interviewed by The Star yesterday said they were angry with the boycott and the accompanying violence.

Many elderly residents cannot understand the call while others say it has made life unbearable.

Said one Kagiso resident: "Youths as young as 14 years stop taxis and private cars coming from town.

"They destroy groceries found in the vehicles and in some cases assault those who refuse to hand over their goods.

"Where in the world have you seen youths as young as 12 years : making decisions?.

Boycott should be voluntary

A Katlehong resident said: "I do not believe that the boycott should be enforced on the people. It should be voluntary.

"The communities should be educated about it being the only tool to cripple an unjust Government.

"When the Consumer Boycott Committee bans weddings, it is similar to the police banning our funerals and restricting the number of people who may attend.

"The CBC said only relatives could attend weddings and said there should be no feasts or merry-making.

A 55-year-old Northcliff domestic said it was cheaper for her to buy her groceries in town. She said there were a variety of items and she could choose what she wanted.

Though township prices were not bad, there were often shortages due to the increased demand.

A Soweto mother-of-three said: "The consumer boycott is our only weapon with which we can fight evil structures that take people's lives.

"Let us not be deterred or confused by pamphlets circulated in "the townships saying the consumer boycott has been called off."

A youth who claimed to have been one of the activists of 1976 said he was fed-up with the boycott and appealed to leaders like Bishop Desmond Tutu to intervene in the situation before it was too late.

Call to Observe 'Black Christmas'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Dec 85 p 15

[Article by Chris More]

[Text]

The boycott of white-owned shops by blacks has become the most topical subject in black townships and is gaining momentum as the festive season draws near.

In addition to being asked not to buy from shops in the city centres, blacks have been called on to observe a "Black Christmas" by boycotting several social events.

The Consumer Boycott Committee (CBC) has called on township residents not to participate in, or attend, events such as street weddings, parties, stokvels and beauty contests.

Weddings celebrations, it says, should be confined to the

homes of the brides and grooms. Residents are also asked not to drink excessively.

Commenting on Christmas parties at work, a CBC spokes-man said employees should instead request companies to give them grocery vouchers redeemable at black shops.

But what concerns most people about the boycott are the methods used by the "law enforcers" to punish people breaching the boycott.

The "law enforcers" are children, whose ages range from six years, sometimes younger, to youths and young men in their late twenties.

The call to observe a "Black Christmas" has added to the power of boycott enforcers. This week shebeeners in Soweto were raided by youths and ordered not to sell liquor as from this week and not to serve patrons who have permed hair.

Some residents complained they were threatened by youths who wanted to cut their permed hair. Some allege the youths are armed with scissors,

knives and even broken glass.

In the Eastern Cape a man who attended an unrest victim's funeral while drunk was made to drink a bucketful of water and detergent. While he did so, he was mobbed by

youths chanting "Viva Omo".

Last weekend youths raided a wedding celebration in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, and demanded to know where the ceremonial beast was bought.

They pointed out that there were no black traders dealing in cattle. This meant the family had broken the consumer boycott and bought the beast from a white farmer. Fortuna-

tely, the family was able to appease the "comrades" with a meal.

On Tuesday the main street leading from the Baragwanath taxi rank and bus terminus was strewn with sugar and other items after youths raided taxis in search of boycott-busters.

Residents have taken to carrying shopping items bought in town in plastic carriers bearing markings of township shops.

But the "comrades" have seen through the trick.

Occasionally a shopper will be requested to show the goods inside the plastic bag. Groceries and other items are destroyed in their presence.

Others are made to eat the things they have bought. This is not restricted only to dible items.

A Soweto woman caught with groceries bought in town was reportedly forced to drink

cooking oil.

Most Callers Anti-Boycott

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Dec 85 p 15

[Text]

Almost 70 percent of the 34 people who called *The Star's* Speak Out column last night were against the consumer boycott. Many of them were businessmen whose turnover had been eroded by the boycott.

Support for the boycott came mainly from township residents who saw it as a peaceful means of protest. Anti-boycott callers claimed that blacks would suffer if the campaign succeeded.

Mr Mondi Lemkile, a student from Pimville, said the boycott was the right move because it was a peaceful means of protest and should involve everyone.

"Our parents have not done anything for us and we are appealing to them to give us support for our demands to the Government.

"We are aware that there are thugs who are taking over and doing cruel things in the name of the struggle. If parents can take part it will not be necessary to use force."

A Mamelodi caller said: "White businessmen are franchise holders in this country and they influence the vote during election time and the Government has implemented laws which are to their benefit. As a result of those laws, black people are suffering."

Miss Nosintu Ngcobo, a 32-year-old administrative clerk, supported the boycott but said she believed the whole community should have been consulted.

A total of 34 people participated in the Speak Out programme. Of these 19 were black and 15 white. The for/against breakdown was predictably on racial lines with all 15 whites speaking against the concept and with 12 of the black callers supporting it. There were also, however, seven black callers — mainly businessmen — who said the boycott was not a good idea.

A 34-year-old woman from Mamelodi said: "I agree totally with the boycott, even if it continues for three months. It is the only way of fighting back."

The boycott would not achieve its objective, said a Johannesburg retailer whose turnover was down 50 percent because of the boycott. He said he had to cancel holiday jobs for black pupils.

A Parkhurst businessman said whites would have to think hard about their attitude to blacks because of the boycott. He said that, in future, whites would refuse to donate to black charities.

He suggested that police should take a much harsher stand againt the boycott organisers and that anyone blockading townships be shot or charged.

Holding a similar view was a 90-yearold Sandton reader who said: "The Government should arrest and charge the whole boycott committee for common theft. I am surprised at the weakness of the Government in dealing with the committee. The committee is openly exhorting young people to commit theft by taking people's purchases."

A 40-year-old Johannesburg man said the boycott lacked direction.

Mr Christopher Motale (30), a law stu-

dent at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the boycott would not have the desired effect.

"The Government will not be moved because no Government, however weak, will allow itself to be pressured."

Mr Floyd Ntsane (24), of Pimville, Soweto, said the boycott violated individual freedom.

"People confiscate other people's property which they worked hard for. I am for the boycott but not the way it is carried out. If the goods of boycott-busters are taken, they must be donated to charity," he added.

A 37-year-old businessman described the boycott as "stupid" and warned that it would hurt many people.

He was supported by an Eldorado Park punch operator who said the boycott would cause suffering to innocent people.

/12851

LEKOA COUNCIL TRYING TO BREAK RENT BOYCOTT

MB181616 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1540 GMT 18 Dec 85

[Text] Johannesburg, 18 Dec (SAPA)—A strategy by the Lekoa town council to break the 15-month-old rent boycott in Vaal Triangle townships was revealed by the Sharpeville Civic Association today.

The strategy includes a plan to collect rentals by legally enforced stop orders, the training of youths during weekend camps to motivate their parents to pay arrear rentals and the establishment of a "local task force" to re-establish and maintain discipline and "authority structures."

The plan is contained in a document discussed at a Lekoa town council executive committee meeting on 4 November this year.

The rent boycott has been in operation since September last year in protest against an increase in service charges.

Mr Phillip Molefe, the publicity officer for the Sharpeville Civic Association, said at press conference today that the residents had objected to the increase in rentals and service charges because it was felt many of the services had never been rendered. Abolition of the service charges would have kept the rentals down.

He said rentals had increased by about 500 percent since 1976, whereas wages had only increased by about 60 percent. All attempts at negotiation with the authorities, including a request to meet the minister of cooperation and development aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had failed.

According to an annexure to the Lekoa Town Council document, the boycott, which is thought to have about 90 percent support among the Vaal Triangle townships, is costing more than R2.5 million a week.

The main objective of the strategy is to collect outstanding rentals and service charges without delay.

The methods set out in the document include the issue of summonses and eviction orders and a request to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning to pass legislation allowing development boards and local authorities to implement stop orders for rent and service charges.

A draft amendment has already been submitted to the Department of Constitutional Development.

The document states that "identified hostile residents" must be regarded as first priority for civil procedure steps but that "this must not be done obviously."

Actions must initially be concentrated on households and businessmen who have sufficient funds, it said.

"No acknowledgement through negotiation must be given to revolutionary groups or organizations."

Also suggested is the formation of a "corps of liaison officers" from Vista University students who are studying municipal administration and finance courses.

These students, many of whom receive bursaries from the council, according to Mr Molefe, should then make personal house calls to inform residents of local authority finances.

The strategy also includes a programme for using weekend camps to train youths to motivate their parents to pay their arrear rentals and continue to make regular payments.

A "local task force" has been formed to investigate the maintenance of law and order and the protection of staff collecting rentals. The task force has to ensure the re-establishment of discipline and "authority structures" and to draw up a code of conduct for "ordination and enforcement of discipline."

Mr Molefe said the reference to a task force and a code of conduct smacked of the creation of vigilante groups.

Legal adviser to the Sharpeville Civil Association, Mr Richard Spoor, who is an assistant to the well-known civil rights lawyer, Mrs Priscilla Jana, said attempts would be made to defend residents who faced legal action by the Lekoa Town Council. He said residents who received summonses should contact their civic associations.

/9604

AFFIDAVITS ALLEGE POLICE ASSAULT

MB101042 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1039 GMT 19 Dec 85

[Text] Port Elizabeth, 19 Dec (SAPA)--Ninety-three more affidavits alleging assaults on detainees have been filed with the Port Elizabeth [PE] Supreme Court, in support of the urgent application brought by Dr Wendy Orr and 44 others restraining the police.

The affidavits, running to several hundred pages, allege police brutality such as the "helicopter treatment," whippings, and a variety of forms of torture during interrogations.

In September an urgent application brought by PE district surgeon, Dr Wendy Orr, made headlines in South Africa and the world.

On 25 September, Mr Justice Eksteen granted an interim order restraining the SAP from assaulting detainees at St Albans and North End Prisons and future detainees in the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage magisterial districts.

The return date was 26 November and the matter has been postponed until 4 February.

The fresh batch of affidavits have now been handed in to the court by attorneys representing Dr Orr and others.

Some of the allegations against the police by detainees and former detainees refer to the helicopter treatment, whippings, being forced to eat splinters from a pickhandle broken during an assault, being forced to eat raw potatoes.

In the "helicopter treatment," described in one affidavit, a prisoner is allegedly made to crouch and a length of wood is placed behind his knees. He is handcuffed with his arms passing underneath the wood and his hands in front of his shins, and then lifted and suspended between two tables.

Others refer to detainees being forced to wash in water containing herbs which caused an irritation, being forced to eat hair shaved from the detainees head during interrogation, "nightmare" rides in Land Rovers in which the drivers braked and accelerated so as to cause their passengers as much discomfort as possible.

Mr Dennis Neer, 36, general secretary of the Motor Assemblers and Component Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA) said in his affidavit that he had been fetched by police from his Zwide home on 21 July.

Mr Neer, who is still being held in terms of the emergency regulations, said a black policeman struck him while he was still in bed. He was then driven through Zwide, New Brighton and Motherwell in a Land Rover with a loose metal truck in the back which was flung around.

A policeman sprayed teargas from an aerosol container into the back of the vehicle and a Lt Strydom struck in with a quirt, causing weals on his body.

At Algoa Park police station he was punched when he could not give the whereabouts of other trade unionists.

When he was admitted to St Albans prison, a prison official recorded marks on his back and asked if he had been assaulted.

On 26 July he was in good shape apart from weals on his back and left leg. He was taken to the 7th floor of Louis le Grange Square for interrogation. He said he was caned, handcuffed, blindfolded and punched, as security police demanded he tell them the whereabouts of a firearm.

A piece of wood was put between his handcuffed hands. "I could stand the pain no longer and I admitted everything, pleading only that they should stop."

The left side of his face was swollen and he had bruises under his eyes and on the side of his face.

Police who searched his home smashed drawers and ripped open floorboards.

He could not urinate for 2 days and a doctor who saw him days later diagnosed torn muscles and prescribed a sling and tablets.

Mr Neer said he was visited by a Warrant Officer Niewoud who asked him about the assaults. He refused to give the names of those who had assaulted him, saying he would be at their mercy while still in detention.

A Major Laubscher then visited him and was in sistent that he sign a statement that he did not want to prosecute. He signed.

On his return visit to Louis le Grange on 4 October, he was given lunch and the treatment afforded him was civil.

Another detainee, Mr Leslie Mangcolywa, described the "helicopter treatment" he allegedly received twice, and said he was suspended upside down, with his head hanging down. "One's whole weight is suspended on one's wrists held by the handcuffs and the back of the knees," Mr Mangcolywa said.

He was prodded on the buttocks causing him to swing on the helicopter and a cloth was tied over his mouth to disguise his screams. He was repeatedly hit on the buttocks, he said, and one policeman grabbed him around the Adam's apple.

Another detainee, Mr Michael Xhego, said he had seen some of the other detainees were in pain after their interrogation by police. He was given the helicopter treatment on 29 July and was whipped. He was told to sit on the floor as a policeman stood on his ankles and knocked ash into his face.

A medical orderly at St Albans refused to put him on sick parade and a week passed before he was seen by a doctor.

 $\boldsymbol{\Lambda}$ detainee from Somerset East was told to strip and wash with herbs which caused a sting.

Mrs Ivy Gcina said in her affidavit that the police interrogating her at Louis le Grange Square on 30 July had threatened to call a man whom they said was renowned for hitting women. She was struck behind the knees and fell. She was hit with an open hand on the side of the face, sprayed with teargas in a toilet and then taken by a white policewoman into her office. Mrs Gcina said he sensed that the policewoman had tried to protect her. The policewoman pretended to hit her but was later chided by a policeman for not hitting her.

Mr Mkhuseli Jack, a consumer boycott organiser, was arrested on 2 August. He said in his affidavit that he was whipped and struck with what appeared to be a length of hosepipe. He was taken to a toilet, told to strip naked and a bucket of dirty water containing an irritant was poured over his body.

He was seen on 3 August by a white male doctor and given medicine. He was taken to the office of a Major du Plessis and told to phone the newspapers and say the consumer boycott in Port Elizabeth had been called off.

Mr Mmumelelo Vdolo, 28, said he was taken to Algoa Park by a Sergeant Faku who tried to force him to eat cigarette butts. His hair was shaved off his head and he was forced to eat the hair during his interrogation. He was punched and whipped.

Mr Umbukelelo Blom said a policeman threw raw potatoes at him and forced him to eat raw potatoes. A pickhandle broke in an assault on another detainee and the detainee was told to eat the splinters.

Mr Welile Peter of Soweto, Port Elizabeth, a cripple, said two uniformed white police arrived at his home. They put him in the boot of a car and drove to Berry's Corner police station, where he was interrogated and later released.

/9604

BUTHELEZI WARNS CIVIL SERVANTS

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MB191142 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1139 GMT 18 Dec 85

[SAPA PR Wire Service; issued by the chief minister's office, Ulundi]

[Text] Ulundi, Thursday--Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned here today that the KwaZulu government could not have in its employ people who undermined it and who worked in cahoots with an organisation which destroyed so much of its property and petrol-bombed homes of its employees in Greater Durban.

He said there were certain very senior civil servants in some departments who were working closely with the United Democratic Front [UDF].

If the UDF was just a political organisation with views differing from Inkatha's he would not bother about civil servants joining it, the KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president told employees of his department at an end-of-year function.

But the UDF had declared war on him, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government. Anyone doubting this could be shown a list of damages to clinics, schools, offices and other amenities destroyed during what he described as UDF-sponsored violence in Durban townships in August.

Chief Buthelezi said loyalty to him or Inkatha was not demanded in the civil service. He did not know which employees stood with him and Inkatha, and promotions were determined on merit alone by the public service commission.

KwaZulu's civil service was run on the lines of Britain's, in which its members did not necessarily support the government in power.

He could not recall even once having vetoed the appointment of anyone whose recommendation for promotion had been passed to the cabinet for confirmation. And he challenged media representatives to come and see for themselves that the interests of civil servants were very well looked after by the public service commission.

Contrary to all the lies spread here and abroad, pressure has never been exerted on any civil servant to join Inkatha.

The UDF, however, did not compete in the market place of ideas which could be accepted or rejected on a democratic basis. It was committed to making the country ungovernable through violence and to attacking, maining and killing those whom it denigrated as "collaborators" for not operating under its chosen strategy.

Chief Buthelezi said the UDF had had a hand in the launching of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), whose president had attacked him in his very maiden speech.

"Can I be expected to keep, in the KwaZulu civil service, civil servants who have anything to do with people who have declared us fair game?" he asked.

The UDF had not confined its violence only to Inkatha members and black shop-keepers whom it described as petite bourgeoise. In the eastern Cape its supporters had killed several members of AZAPO [Azanian People's Organization] merely because that organi-ation followed a different strategy.

"And yet," Chief Buthelezi said, "a myth is being disseminated all over the world that Inkatha has become a violent organisation merely because we refuse to be sitting ducks for the external mission of the ANC."

The chief minister said he knew that his remarks would be twisted, distorted and deliberately misrepresented, but what he was saying was quite straight forward: Honesty was wanted among the civil servants. It would be gross dishonesty to receive salaries from a government which was called names by organisations to which they belonged.

Inkatha had decided, on the good grounds of philosophy and pragmatism, to achieve freedom and justice for blacks through democratic opposition to apartheid. It had never condemned the external mission of the ANC or the PAC for opting for violence but had simply disagreed that liberation could be obtained by violent means without destroying the foundations for the future.

Chief Buthelezi disclosed that 10 years ago an external mission executive had asked if Inkatha could recruit cadres for them. He had replied that it was impossible for him to become involved in that kind of thing.

Inkatha could not be an internal wing of the external mission of the ANC, he said. That was the only sin he had committed.

"We have, however, never interfered with what they have opted to do to achieve liberation for black South Africa. That is why we assume our right to do what we have chosen to do to achieve the same liberation."

Inkatha people were prepared to give their lives in defence of the right to choose their strategies. In these circumstances he was sounding a warning not just to civil servants in his particular departments but to those in all KwaZulu government departments.

"In the present life and death struggle," he said, "I have every justification for saying that those who are not with us are against us. This is my message for all KwaZulu civil servants today."

/9604

APPOINTMENT TO HOSPITAL BOARDS 'FORESEEN FOR BLACKS'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Dec 85 p 11

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. —
Black membership on hospital boards and on national councils responsible for health policy is foreseen by Dr Willie van Niekerk, Minister of Health and Welfare, as part of a restructuring of health services next year.

Dr Van Niekerk told The Citizen in an interview that he fully supported Mr Gene Louw, Administrator of the Cape, in his recent announcement that Blacks would be appointed to some hospital boards in the Cape — Coloured and Indian members were appointed last year.

Blacks should be represented on the boards of hospitals which serve Black patients, Dr Van Nickerk said.

He also believed the Ministers of Health in the independent national states should be members of the National Health Policy council, of which he is chairman.

The Ministers of Health in the three Ministers' Councils in Parliament are now members of this council, so it is already multiracial.

Dr Van Niekerk said the National Health Policy Council would co-ordinate services operated by both the "General Affairs" and "Own Affairs" Ministries under the new dispensation, to achieve a more streamlined and cost-effective health service for the whole population.

In the restructured health service, the policy body should meet more often to achieve these aims.

"Health services in the new constitutional dispensation must set out to improve the living standards of all population groups through a comprehensive health and welfare system," said Dr Van der Merwe.

While health services would be divided into "own" and "general" services, they should be part of an effective national health care plan in regard to their development, application and continuous revision.

There had to be effective co-ordination of services, the evolution of health services arising from the national plan, as well as financial discipline in terms of a financial policy aimed at maintaining a cost-effective system.

In regard to financing, Dr Van Niekerk saw privatisation as playing an important role in hospital services.

CISKEI USES SWISS BANK PLAN TO WOO INVESTORS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Stephen Cranston: Ciskei Aims To Woo SA Investors with Swiss Bank Plan"]

[Text]

CISKEI's success in wooing SA investors is likely to be given an added boost if new banking laws pass through the local parliament.

The government hopes to introduce Swiss-style confidential banking and is negotiating with a consortium to open a Swiss bank in Ciskel.

At the same time Transkei has gone through a process of "Africanisation", not allowing non-Transkeians to own property and recently sacking senior foreign members of the Transkei Development Corporation.

However, there is an Ohlsson's Brewery and a Lion match factory in the country as well as a great deal of Taiwanese investment.

Those who remain in the Transkei Development Corporation admit that South Africans would get a greater return by keeping their money in SA, as there is a 10% additional tax on non-residents.

There has been R300m of new investment in Ciskei in the last year, from manufacturers of products as diverse as rope and cord, electronic components, wool products and fashion carpets

wool products and fashion carpets.
Up to 60% as then from SA which has ensured a 5,7% growth for Ciskel.
The Ciskel banding Society is attract-

The Ciskel handing Society is attracting new investments at the rate of Rim a month, according to MD Edgar van Deventer, who says South Africans can make up to 35 more in Ciskel than in SA.

As much as 17,5% is earned on a oneyear fixed deposit, which is subject only to a 15% withholding tax.

Other incentives include no company tax, estate duties, capital gains taxes or donation taxes, and a personal tax of only 15% and the deregulation of small businesses.

The new tax system, introduced only six months ago, has resulted in a 21,7% increase in revenue from tax as companies increasingly pay as large a proportion of their tax as they can in Ciskei.

The administration of taxes has been simplified, with no income tax paid by those earning less than R8 000 a year.

Three years ago 68% of new investment in Ciskei came from public funds, but this year 51% of investment was private.

Ciskei taxes are far more favourable than those in Bophutatswana, which has 40% corporation tax and a 40% marginal income tax, but because of Bophutatswana's proximity to the PWV area, it boasts over 200 manufacturers.

/13046

BOYCOTT CHIEFS ACCUSED OF LINING OWN POCKETS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Sipho Ngcobo and Peter Wallington: "Boycott Chiefs Act as Thugs Line Own Pockets"]

[Text] Krugersdorp Consumer Boycott Committee has set up vigilante groups "to root out criminal elements who intimidate and rob motorists, shebeen owners and taxi drivers in the name of the struggle".

The police also broke their silence on the whereabouts of Transvaal boycott committee leader Jabu Ngwenya and confirmed his detention under the emergency regulations. They had denied he was detained.

Hundreds of rands worth of cash and goods have been seized from the criminals by the boycott committee's activists after which the culprits were punished and later lectured on what the boycott meant, according to a boycott committee spokesman in Krugersdorp townships of Munsieville and Kagiso.

Major chain stores in Soweto have reported a 60% increase in sales since the start of the boycott.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce said yesterday that there had been a mixed reaction to the boycott.

"Some retailers have reported a marked drop in turnover while others do not appear to have been affected".

In Pretoria, joint action by commerce and industry and the security forces has resulted in a return to better trading for shops.

Pamphlets were dropped over Mamelodi last week urging shoppers to go about their business under the protection of the security forces, who then manned bus terminals and other points of concentration to protect shoppers.

Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman said the boycott in Pretoria and Johannesburg was just beginning to affect company stores. He added that it did not appear to be as serious as the boycott of four Pick 'n Pay stores in Cape Town.

/13046

DIVISIONS BETWEEN BLACK EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION VIEWED

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec/Jan 86 pp 25, 26

 $\sqrt{\text{Article by Ameen Akhalwaya: "}} = \frac{BC}{PAC} + NF - (ANC x FC^2) = ?"$

Text A front runner in the hotley contested stakes for Least Understood Feature of S.A. Politics is the confused division between the two streams of extraparliamentary opposition. Ameen Akhalwaya spells the position out.

Freedom Charter/progressive democrats = United Democratic Front. Black consciousness = Azapo/National Forum Committee.

That is a popular perception, but it is not entirely accurate. Because of cross-cutting trends and allegiances in black extra-parliamentary politics, simplistic labels must be avoided.

The truth is that not all black consciousness (BC) supporters reject the Freedom Charter; not all Freedom Charter supporters reject black consciousness.

There are in fact many who find little difference between the two groupings, and are equally at home in either camp -- that is, if they are allowed to operate in two camps.

To understand the present divisions, one really needs to go back to the 1940s when younger militants tried to change the direction of a then rather conservative African National Congress.

But a reasonable starting point would be the 1960 outlawing of the ANC and the then new Pan Africanist Congress, which were then the only significant black political organisations.

For much of the 1960s, black political activity came to a near standstill as ANC and PAC leaders were jailed, banned or went into exile.

The government, having acted ruthlessly against its black opponents, concentrated on creating all sorts of derisory advisory platforms for the black groups.

During that period, the "nonracial" sports organisations, now under the umbrella of the SA Council on Sport (Sacos), were about the only internal opponents of the Matienalists' solleies from outside government approved platforms.

The sporting groups, however, had severe limitations, not least being their inability -- or unwillingness -- to mobilise people over issues that did not directly affect sports.

Towards the end of the decade, South African politics was shaken up by the emergence of Steve Bike and his student colleagues from the "tribal colleges".

They launched the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) and the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC), propagating black consciousness and defining the struggle in South Africa as being a racial one between the maves -- whites -- and have-nots -- land.

They sounded much file the PAC at first -- but they went further. They lefined black as including all the disenfranchised -- Africans, coloureds and Indians -- and demanded the scrapping of the term "non-white".

At first, the BC philosophy of Biko and associates was viewed as racist by many who had grown up supporting the "nonracial" concept as propagated by the Congress movement and the Sacos units, and who naively relied on the white Press for their interpretation of black politics. A closer study of BC, and experiences while working at white liberal institutions, soon convinced them that Diko was right in his assessment of the situation.

While the new converts to BC agreed with the concept of ridding blacks of their mental and physical status of inferiority, they still reviewed non-restalism as the second of a new second of a new second of the reviewed non-restalism as the second of a new second of the reviewed non-restalism as the second of the new converts to BC agreed with the concept of ridding blacks of their mental and physical status of inferiority.

They accepted BC for its "positive" cutbook -- not to be ashamed of being black, to stop feeling sorry for yourself and to start self-help programmes.

The latter, of course was -- and is -- the most difficult to achieve in the face of legal and companie restraints.

Even so, the BC philosophy allowed people for the first time to be part of a self-purification process in which they could assert themselves positively as "black", and not cower negatively as an inferior "non-white".

The one danger of BC was that there was -- and is -- a very thin dividing line between anti-white racism and the positive concept of asserting one-self as a merson was is using exclusivity as a means to an end.

At the same time, though, while accepting the definition of black, many could not go along with BC's exclusion and categorisation of all whites as oppressors.

But they had little choice. They had to join Saso/BPC or stay out of activist nonsystem politics.

Significantly, even people with ANC leanings such as Mrs Winnie Mandela -- before she was banned and banished -- and Dr Nthato Motlana became leaders of new black organisations.

The turning point came in 1977 when Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger outlawed BC organisations, BC leaders were banned or jailed and Biko died in detention.

Azape emerged from the ashes in 1978, but it struggled from the onset. First, its founders were detained. Then it had to ensure it did not fall foul of the law by furthering the aims of Saso/BPC.

It also lacked a strong, known leadership. It changed the BC ideology to that of a race-biased class struggle, and took on a greater socialist outlook.

But it couldn't make the same impact as Saso/BPC had with its charismatic leadership.

The Congress of SA Students (Cosas) emerged as a Freedom Charter supporting organisations. Later, the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) was launched as the spiritual successor to Saso.

But Azaso soon changed to a pro-Charter grouping.

The Transvaal Indian Congress, dormant since its leaders went into exile or were banned or jailed in the Sixties, was revived as a pro-Charter organisation.

Inevitably, these organisations had to come together, and they did so under the UDF banner in 1983.

The UDF was formed ostensibly to unite all extra-parliamentary groups to fight the government's constitutional plans and the "Koornhof Bills". But because so many of its patrons are ANC leaders and so many of its organisations support the Freedom Charter, it has come to be seen as the Charter group.

The National Forum Committee emerged as a platform ostensibly for all extraparliamentary opponents of the government. But because its major support is derived from Azapo and its leadership is drawn from mainly black consciousness supporters, it has come to be seen as a BC grouping.

These then are the perceptions responsible for creating all sorts of dilemmas and cross-allegiances.

There are those who think the BC philosophy is still valid, but that it has achieved its major objective of politicisation or conscientisation, and that blacks are now in a position to reassert their positions.

They no longer agree to rejection of the limited white participation in the black struggle, and they are not opposed to the Charter, which they see as a rallying symbol. So they still support BC but not Azapo or the National Forum. Like "Terror" Lekota, an ex-BC leader, they are comfortable in the UDF.

But there are others yet who, while endorsing the UDF, are uncomfortable with it.

That is because they believe the UDF places too much emphasis on wooing whites, or that some UDF affiliates, such as the Indian congresses, while now having a nonracial membership, are still too "ethnically" orientated.

In this case one finds Azapo supporters who accuse the TIC and NIC of being racist, while TIC and NIC supporters accuse Azapo of being racist.

BC supporters ask: How can you be "Indian" and "nonracial" at the same time? The TIC and NIC say "Indian" is retained in their titles for historical reasons only.

So it is not difficult to find people classified Indian who don't support the TIC or NIC, but who nevertheless sympathise with the ANC, the UDF or support the Freedom Charter.

By the same token, there are people who support black consciousness but not Azapo or the National Forum.

Then, to complicate matters, Cosas (now banned), although being a nonracial organisation, nevertheless confined its membership to blacks.

Apart from its support for the Charter, what set Cosas apart from the BC groups was that it did not reject working with white organisations.

One then found Cosas members accusing BC supporters of being racist, and vice versa,

Azapo, which is in the UDF camp, uses "Azanian" in its title. Yet "Azania" is anathema to many Charter supporters. Black Student Societies generally don't support Azapo, yet use "Black" in their title.

On the other side, there are BC supporters who work in white institutions or for multinational companies, while attacking both, or calling on and accepting material assistance from white individuals and organisations.

In the Cape, the situation is further complicated by the re-emergence of the Unity Movement and other groups.

Thus, one finds these rivalries, contradictions and dilemmas manifesting themselves in all sorts of organisations, such as the Council of the Unions of SA (Cusa), the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) and Sacos.

These organisations have members whose wider political allegiances are to black consciousness or the Freedom Charter or both -- or none. Yet, despite internal difference, they have held together or come together again because they share a common purpose.

The question then is that if such organisations can maintain their integrity despite ideological differences, why can't the UDF and the National Forum when both proclaim that they share a common enemy in "the system"?

After all, what they have in common strategically far outweighs their differences: their views on the country's constitutional structures, disinvestment, cultural and sporting boycotts, working outside the system, politicising and mobilising the masses and so forth.

If individuals with differing ideological beliefs can find a home in the National Forum, and organisations with ideological differences can find a home in the UDF, and some are comfortable in both camps, why can't the Forum and the UDF unite?

That is the big question. It has yet to be answered satisfactorily by either side.

/12851

MINISTER DENIES GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR TOWNSHIP UNREST

MB211035 London BBC World Service in English 0709 GMT 21 Dec 85

[From the "24 hours" program]

[Text] In South Africa the debate over the role neighboring countries may be playing in supporting antiapartheid guerrillas has brought a warning from the government that there will be a high price to pay if the situation continues. President Botha was addressing his remarks to countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and Lesotho not long after the Lesotho Government accused Pretoria of murdering nine people during a raid. Although the South African Government denies this latest raid, it cannot conceal the continuing unrest in its own black townships despite the restrictions imposed on the media. Talking to BBC Television correspondent Michael Berg, the South African Deputy Information Minister, Louis Nel, rejected any suggestion that the government was itself to blame for the turmoil in the townships.

[Begin recording] [Nel] The ANC and other radical groups, they do not want reform to succeed in South Africa and they have started desperate attempts to bring about a situation which will stop reform in South Africa.

[Berg] But does the government not accept at all that there might be a general feeling of grievance amongst black and mixed race people in this country—that it is one of the principal causes of what is happening here?

[Nel] I think that we have seen over the past year an exploitation of grievances that black people do have by the ANC and by radical elements. But there can be no doubt about it that we haven't seen a sort of natural uprising against apartheid. We haven't seen that at all. Violence was instigated and wouldn't have taken place if it wasn't for this instigation.

[Berg] You talk a lot about reforms that have taken place as does the state president and other ministers and a number of reform proposals have been made over the last 18 months or so. Which of these particular reforms do you consider of particular importance?

[Nel] I think of particularly symbolic importance was the scrapping of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriage Act. Then, apart from that, the government doesn't see the independence of the homelands as a final solution for South

Africa's constitutional problems. The state president has committed fully to a new policy, a policy of power-sharing between the different groups in South Africa--minority groups--and committed himself to an undivided South Africa. He has committed himself to universal franchise and to a negotiated constitutional dispensation in South Africa.

[Berg] This has been a fairly traumatic year for South Africa. What do you think the government has achieved by imposing the state of emergency?

[Nel] Since the government imposed the state of emergency in certain areas, the unrest in those areas has actually declined and therefore it was the right thing to do.

[Berg] What do you say to those people who would accuse your government of wanting to stop the pictorial truth of what is happening in South Africa getting abroad and that that in-itself has been one of the major factors in South Africa's difficult international situation, one of the major factors in the difficulties your economy has been suffering.

[Nel] It is of course true that in [words indistinct] of incidents taking place in South Africa and the cumulative effect of those incidents being shown on television screens around the world create the image of the whole country in flames, which is a false image, but that has not been the motivation of the South African Government in restricting the presence of television crews in emergency areas. The motivation was that the mere presence of television crews seemed to be a catalyst to further violence. [end recording]

/12712

VENDA PRESIDENT ASSUMES DICTATORIAL POWERS

Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 15 Dec 85 p 6

[Article by Mudini Maivha: "Make Way for...Baas Pat; Mphephu's Now Above (His Own) Laws..."]

[Text]

VENDA PRESIDENT Patrick Mphephu has assumed dictatorial powers to fire, transfer, demote, and even reduce the salaries of anybody in the employ of his government – regardless of rank.

An Act passed in the Venda parlia-

ment last week also protects him from any legal action that may be taken against him and his government by civil servants.

The controversial Act follows the recent demotion of Justice Director-General Michael Tshishonga, who has now taken legal action against President Mphephu.

This week Mr Tshishonga and his lawyers announced they would challenge the Act which, they said, was passed "to legalise an illegal action by the government". The Act was passed in retrospect and is effective from January 1 1985. An amendment to Section 23 of the Constitution Act declares: "The appointment or dismissal of persons in the service of the Government of Venda rests in the State President acting on the advice of the Cabinet."

Acting on such "advice". the president may in his sole discretion, "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, have the power to transfer, demote, discharge and reduce the salaries of civil servants".

The president doesn't have to give reasons, or give people notice - or give them the opportunity to make representations "if the Cabinet's opinion is that the reasons are sensitive and disclosures thereof could prejudice the interests of the Government of Venda".

The provisions of this section are applicable to all persons transferred, demoted, suffered salary reductions or discharged prior to the promulgation of this section – irrespective of whether they have instituted legal proceeding, against the Government.

The Act was passed just after Mr Tshishonga made an urgent application for an interdict in the Thohoyandou Supreme Court against his demotion to magistrate by the Fxecutive Council.

Other "shocking" actions which fall within this period are the demotion of former Auditor General M Mamburu and the dismissal of audit clerk George Budzwa. Mr Mamburu has not challenged his demotion.

Mr Tshishonga applied for an interdict to declare his demotion and the appointment of M S Muthige as Justice Director-General ineffective. He claimed he had been dismissed "unprocedurally".

Mr Tshishonga lost his R43 110-a-year job to become a magistrate for R16 590 a year.

He joined the Venda Public Service in 1977 as a clerk.

In 1983 he was appointed Secretary for Justice, which was changed to Justice Director-General.

Mr Tshishonga's attorney, Don Nkadimeng, said he was going to challenge the validity of the Act.

He has already filed further papers against Chief Mphephu after Chief Justice van Rhyn recused himself from presiding over the matter.

"It is an Act of parliament passed to legalise an illegal act by the Government done on bad faith, and is invalid.

"Otherwise we will go into an inquiry into the validity of the Act," said Mr Nkadimeng.

/13046 CSO: 3400/729

BLACK CONSUMER BOYCOTTS HIT CHRISTMAS TRADE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES (Business) 15 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

[Text] CHRISTMAS sales generally appear to be going well, but traders are concerned about the effects of black-consumer boycotts.

"In money terms, our sales are running about 19% ahead on the Christmas period last year, which means that in real terms we are about 3,5% to 4% up," says Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman.

"We see the position hopefully staying like that for the full Christmas period, but trade has been affected by the black boycotts, though not seriously in our stores.

"I think there has been a slight pick-up in consumer confidence with some lifting of gloom-and-doom feelings but it is still hard to get sales."

Clicks chairman Jack Goldin is also quite bullish, saying that sales so far have been very encouraging, though he is cautious on the effects of the boycott.

Phenomenal

"The Pretoria area has been the worst hit, with some effect also on downtown Jo-

hannesburg.
"November was a phenomenal month for us, and if the pace shown so far in December is maintained then our sales will be at least 15% up."

F elling some of the buving activity is consumer fear of higher prices to be charged from January on imported goods, which is encouraging consumers to buy now rather than put off purchases and pay higher prices later.

"We have seen this in our radio and electrical goods lines, where we thought we had enough stock for the Christmas period but have run out in some cases," says Mr Goldin.

This trading pattern has also been noticed by Dion's merchandise director, Steve Kurland.

Figures up

"We have experienced considerable buying in the kitchen appliances and white goods line, as well as such items as televisions and video recorders, ahead of expected price increases from January.

"Our trading figures over the comparable period of last year are up, but only in single-figure percentage terms. Our trade is not primarily with black consumers, so we have been affected only to a limited extent by the consumer boycott."

That is not the picture elsewhere, with stories of intimidation of customers in stores catering largely to the black-consumer market through hit-and-run tactics by agitators to evade store security guards and prevent purchases.

Frasers chairman Donald Campbell, says furniture sales have improved and, including new acquisation Top Centre, sales for October and November were up by 21%. He expects a good Christmas

but was concerned about boycotts and unrest, which cost the company R1,5-million last year.

He reports that the boycott had been 100% effective in the Eastern Cape but not elsewhere. Frasers' retail store in Queenstown has been closed and 45 companies there have gone bankrupt.

Edgars managing director Vic Hammond says his group's Christmas sales to date have gone "satisfactorily", but he is worried about the boycott.

Political

"So far we are about 10% up in our sales, which means a 4% drop in real terms."

Certain stores make up to 50% of their profits for the year in the Christmas trading period. If they are hit badly by boycotts the end result is that they could be forced to cut back on staff levels to hold down costs.

hold down costs.

That could mean the boycott putting more black workers on the unemployed

Checkers managing director Clive Weil says his stores' sales are running ahead of budget and he is happy with their performance, though he does not expect to see the fireworks which have taken place over previous Christmas trading seasons.

He is optimistic over the effects on consumers of the early repayment of the loan-levy cheques, but again points to the unquantifiable effects of the consumer boy-cotts.

/13046

cso: 3400/720

CIVIL SERVANTS GET DISMISSAL WARNING OVER UDF LINK

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Dec 85 p 10

[Text]

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday warned that he would dismiss KwaZulu civil servants who worked with the United Democratic Front.

The KwaZulu government could not employ people who undermined it and who worked with an organisation which destroyed much of its property and petrol-bombed homes of its employees in greater Durban, the Chief told employees at an endof-year function.

"Can I be expected to keep, in the KwaZulu Civil Service, civil servants who have anything to do with people who have declared us fair game?"

He said there were certain very senior civil servants in some departments who worked closely with the UDF.

He added he would not bother about civil servants joining the UDF it it was just a political organisation with views differing from Inkatha's — the organisation which he heads. However, the UDF had declared war on him, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government, and this could be seen in the damage to clinics, schools, offices and other amenities destroyed during "UDF-sponsored violence" in Durban townships in August.

Chief Buthelezi said he did not demand loyalty to himself or Inkatha from the Civil Service, nor had he exerted pressure on any civil servant to join Inkatha.

The UDF, however, was committed to making the country ungovernable through violence and to attacking, maiming and killing those whom it denigrated as "collaborators" for not operating under its chosen strategy.

He said the UDF had not confined its violence only to Inkatha members — its Eastern Cape supporters had killed several members of the Azanian People's Organisation, merely because that organisation followed a different strategy.

"In the present life and death struggle I have every justification for saying that those who are not with us are against us," the Chief said.

/13046 CSO: 3400/730

THOUSANDS FLEE BOPHUTHATSWANA'S SWEEP ON MILITANTS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 13-19 Dec 85 p 9

[Article by Sefako Nyaka]

[Text]

THOUSANDS of youths have fled Bophuthatswana in the wake of a massive police campaign to "rid the homeland of elements who are bent on destabilising it".

This week several youths in Temba township outside Hammanskraal and GaRankuwa told of mass arrests and alleged assaults at the hands of police.

Trouble in the Bantustan started a few weeks ago when Putco announced bus hikes in the Pretoria area.

Bophuthatswana commuters still use Putco buses in some areas; they called for the government to withdraw Putco and to introduce instead state-subsidised Bophuthatswana Transport Holdings buses.

There were incidents of stonethrowing and several buses were damaged.

Tension escalated a few weeks ago when 500 workers were dismissed by Metal Box in Rosslyn.

A boycott of products — including beer and soft drinks in cans — was called in solidarity with the workers — and a music festival at GaRankuwa was disrupted when youths realised that beer and soft drinks were sold in cans at the festival.

Three people were killed, and it was later claimed they had been run over by motorists who were fleeing from the stone-throwing youths.

As tension continues to rise, youths have reported unrelated incidents of alleged police harassment and a high rate of arrest.

A young activist, Gordon Manamela, whose back was a criss-cross of sjambok weals, was allegedly assaulted when he and a friend were picked up at the friend's home before being taken to the Temba police station two weeks ago.

"On our arrival at the police station, we were assaulted with an assortment of weapons, including rubber truncheons and wooden batons," he said.

His swollen clean-shaven head was covered in festering wounds and bruises.

He said he was rudely shoved into the back of a police van carrying several youths.

"At the police station we found another group of youths, and after the assault we were taken to the Bedwang Police Station, where the assaults continued."

"When we complained about the quality of the food at the police station, we were deprived of food for three days," he said.

Two youths, Rama Ntebatse and Innocent Tiolane, were admitted to Jubilee Hospital before being transferred to GaRankuwa Hospital.

Several youths were allegedly refused medical attention while in detention

According to Thabo Manamela, hospital authorities refused to give him his younger brother's medical report so that he could lay a charge of assault against the police.

They were initially refused bail, but it was later fixed at R200, and some of the youths were released into the care of their parents.

The youths, most of them members of the Temba Youth Organisation (Teyo), are to face charges of public violence.

They have also been accused of furthering the aims of a banned organisation, an indirect reference to the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

Several youths said they have been repeatedly asked to name the "students from Atteridgeville and other areas who are behind the present unrest".

Their interrogators allegedly forced some of them to admit that the trouble was fanned by outsiders running away from police in South Africa.

Shortly after the outbreak of violence, a meeting was held in Temba and a senior government official "whom we do not know", said youths, told parents outsiders were responsible for the unrest.

He allegedly told the meeting violence is not akin to Tswanas and that they should stand together against the non-Tswana element.

"He even said Bophuthatswana will hit an eye for an eye in its fight against the radicals from outside," said a youth.

/13046 CSO: 3400/730 A government official in Matikene denied the allegations but confirmed several meetings had been held with the residents in an effort to normalise the situation.

He refused to name officials who had addressed such meetings

And on the Bantustan's television this week, President Lucas Mangope appealed for "loyalty, firmness, determination and purposefulness" from Bophuthatswana citizens to fight the "mind-colonising campaign launched by organisations such as the UDF".

He said no "foreign" students would be admitted next year; teachers would be screened, and no teacher would be allowed to become a member of the United Democratic Front.

He asked teachers who belonged to the UDF to get out of the teaching profession and out of Bophuthatswana. He said he had been approached by several people who asked him to ban the UDF.

Attempts to ascertain the exact number of youths arrested since the outbreak of violence were unsuccessful. A Lieutenant Cekisa in the Public Relations Directorate said the only person entitled to answer press queries was on leave

MORE BLACKS PASS MATRICULATION EXAMS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Dec 85 p 12

[Text]

JUST under 50 percent of this year's Black matriculations passed their examinations, an increase of about three percent on last year's figures.

The Director General of Education and Training, Dr Braam Fourie, has released the results of 67 073 candidates from schools administered by his Department and in six self-governing homelands and three independant homelands.

Altogether 33 073 candidates passed (49,3 percent), while 8 394 (12,5 percent) obtained Matriculation Exemption.

Dr Fourie said the results were released Tuesday despite disruption of examinations in certain areas during unrest.

The results of about 9 900 candidates were not yet available and another 10 000 candidates would be writing their examinations in May, in terms of the option granted them

by the Department due to the continuing unrest in many Black townships.

"It is heartening that the results compare very favourably with those of 1984 (46,02 percent passed and 10,06 gained exemption) in spite of serious disruption and intimidation which inevitably had a negative effect on the performance of numerous candidates," Dr Fourie said.

The results of candidates from schools at which there was no disruption by unrest were considerably higher than those that were disrupted.

"The results of 9 890 candidates are not yet complete. These candidates either wrote at different centres from those where they registered, with the result their results could not be processed with the aid of computers, or they did not write all their subjects," Dr Fourie said. — Sapa.

/13046

LOW DET MATRICULATION RESULTS SEEN AS 'TRAGIC'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 26 Dec 85 p 7

[Article by Susan Pleming and Chris More]

[Text]

The black matric results released on Tuesday have been described as "tragic" by several educationists, the Sowete Parents' Crisis Committee and the Sullivan Companies Education Task Force.

A total of 67 073 pupils wrote the Department of Education and Training (DET) matric this year and 49,3 percent passed with 12,4 percent getting university entrance.

Last year 75 304 wrote the exam and 52 percent passed.

A spokesman for the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC) said the poor results showed the "tragic nature" of black education.

"Only six percent of the total number of candidates who wrote the examination will be able to go to university. Nobody can say to us why only six percent of blacks should scrape through to university while Afrikaners in the Free State got a more than 90 percent pass rate," the spokesman said.

The former principal of Orlando High School and a lecturer in mathematics at the University of the Witwatersrand described the results as "scandalous".

"For as long as Bantu Education produces such terrible results, we will continue fighting it," Mr Khanyile said.

A spokesman for the Azanian Students' Movement, Mr Kabelo Lengane, said:

"It was not unexpected that the authorities would be bent on their stubbornness in the whole tragic examination saga.

"We see this as a form of retaliation to the blow dealt them through the massive boycott of examinations.

"It also confirms our assertion that the number of black students entering university is regulated."

He added: "While many organisations might have called on students to return to school in 1986 in the light of the rumour that 1986 will be a nonacademic year, the DET, by deliberately failing students, could well be doing its part in making 1986 a real non-academic year," Mr Lengane said.

The chairman of the Sullivan Companies Education Task Force, Mr Pat O' Malley, said from Cape Town that the results were "extremely disappointing".

They showed the quality of black education had not improved.

"The results are a tragedy for South Africa and they show no promise for black education." he said.

Mr O'Malley said the number of South African blacks writing the exams was extraordinarily low and the number of distinctions disappointing.

"We must also remember that those who wrote the exams were the really motivated pupils so the percentage pass rate was probably higher than if all the Standard 10 pupils had written the exams."

Dr Ken Hartshorne, who took part in the De Lange investigation into education and is a former senior official of the Department of Bantu Education and the DET, said the smaller number of blacks writing this year indicated the seriousness of the school boycotts.

He added, however, that results issued by the DET were not complete and it would take a long time to place them in their true perspective.

He pointed out that the results of 9 890 candidates were still incomplete and that this could change the pass or failure rate considerably.

/13046

BRIEFS

TRANSKEI PRESIDENT NOT TO REJOIN COUNTRY--President Kaizer Matanzima of Transkei says his country will never abandon freedom. Speaking at Ezibeleni in Transkei he urged South Africa not to invite it to rejoin the country. He said that Transkeians would not sacrifice their freedom on the alter of imperialism. President Matanzima said that judging from the fast development of Transkei over the past 25 years [as heard] there was every reason to be optimistic about the future. He said that membership of the United Nations Organization was irrelevant to Transkei, and the country should forget about it. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 17 Dec 85] /9604

BOYCOTTS SPREAD TO TZANEEN, DUINELSKLOOF--Tzaneen, 18 Dec (SAPA)--White shop boycotts that occurred in Port Elizabeth, the Reef and Pretoria this week, spread to the northern Transvaal today when Kgapane youths, backed by some of the communities, threatenedwith violence people who travelled to Tzaneen and Duiwelskloof for their Christmas shopping. During the early hours the youths set up several roadblocks to stop police vehicles from entering the township of Kgapane. Only taxis and buses carrying workers were allowed to pass the roadblocks. Youths scattered when Lebowa police arrived on the scene. It was calm during the remainder of the day as police patrolled the township. It was alleged that two elderly women from Modjadji village were beaten and forced to drink bottles of fish oil. They were taken to a hospital. The incident could not be confirmed by a hospital spokesman or the police. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1857 GMT 18 Dec 85] /9604

CISKEI TRANSPORT MINISTER ARRESTED—Ciskei's Transport Minister RR Mali has been arrested—and faces charges of embezzling thousands of rands in Government's funds. Cop spokesman Lt Mavuso Ngwendu said police were investigating a charge of theft against Mr Mali, who has held more positions in the Ciskei government than any of the other Cabinet ministers. As President Lennox Sebe's right—hand man, Mr Mali was held in such high esteem that he was at one stage tipped to lead the race for president should Mr Sebe step down. During Mr Sebe's short illness, Mr Mali was appointed as one of the team of the committee of four which was empowered to run the .omeland. [Article by Benito Phillips: "Did Mali Take the Money?"] [Text] [Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English 15 Dec 85 p 1] /13046

PRETORIA COUNCIL, TRADE UNION AGREEMENT—What is perhaps the first acknowledged agreement yet reached between a trade union and a municipal authority has been concluded between the Pretoria City Council and the Union of Pretoria Municipal Workers. The trade union represents about 4,500 of the 7,000 black employees of the council. The agreement was signed today by the chairman of the union, Mr Thomas (Maputla), and the director of manpower and managerial auxilliary services of the council, Mr (Chatt) Kruger. It grants the union bargaining power. Mr Kruger says it foramlizes good relations that have been in existence between the council and the union. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 13 Dec 85] /8309

EXTENDED BOYCOTT IF LEADERS NOT RELEASED--Pretoria, Dec 19, SAPA--The organizers of a boycott of white shops in Pretoria have said they would extend the stayaways unless the government released a number of detained leaders. The Pretoria Consumer Boycott Committee [PCBC] said today it had been decided at a meeting yesterday to call for the boycott to last until Jan 15 next year, two weeks longer than initially planned, if the condition was not met. A spokesman for the PCBC said the detained leaders were Mr Jabu Ngwenya, chief spokesman for the Soweto Consumer Boycott Committee, Mr Louis Khumalo, Mr John Tau, Mr Joe Hlongwane, Mr Johannes Kekana, and Mr Jabu Chaka, all businessmen from Mamelodi, as well as the Reverend Lucas Amusela of the Mamelodi NG Kerk [Dutch Reformed Church]. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1045 GMT 19 Dec 85 MB] /12712

BOYCOTT NOT APPLICABLE--Mafikeng, Dec 20, SAPA--Bophuthatswana today said the resolutions passed by the consumer boycott committee in South Africa were not applicable in the country. A government statement said measures would be taken against intimidators. The statement added the resolutions were not acceptable as they hampered revenue sources that helped the government pay pensioners and develop projects around the country. The boycott of shops and companies would also result in low dividends and poor revenue, destabilizing the country's economy, it said. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1410 GMT 20 Dec 85 MB] /12712

105 PEOPLE DETAINED--Pretoria, 13 Dec (SAPA)--Altogether 105 people have been detained in the past week under the emergency regulations, according to a list of detainees issued in Pretoria today. At least 6,543 people have been held under the regulations since the state of emergency was introduced on 21 July, although a police report earlier today said only 712 people were still being detained. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1002 GMT 13 Dec 85] /8309

IMPACT OF PRETORIA BOYCOTT—The black consumer boycott has entered its second week in Pretoria with some retailers reporting a 50% drop in trade. Retailers in Johannesburg, where a boycott began on Monday, claim they have not yet been affected. The Consumer Boycott Committee has called for the boycott in Johannesburg to last until December 31 and until January 2 in Pretoria. Sales in some Pretoria Sales House outlets are reportedly down by as much as 50% on last year's sales and Pep Stores' sales are down by 35% at some outlets. Some small businesses have called on the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce to arrange a meeting with the boycott organisers and to make representations to government. Yesterday the Chamber of Commerce met the Association of Chambers of Commerce to discuss the boycott. Chamber of Commerce secretary C Viljoen yesterday declined to comment. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Dec 85 p 3] /13046

BUSINESS RENEWS CALLS FOR DIALOGUE ON REFORM

MB231239 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1146 GMT 23 Dec 85

[Text] Johannesburg, Dec 23, SAPA--Big business today reviewed its appeals to the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, to draw black leaders into the dialogue on reform and ignore right-wing extremists in Afrikanerdom and the National Party [NP].

The latest call came from Sir Albert Robinson, 70, executive director of the Anglo American Corporation and former chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, who will retire at the end of the year.

He said the English-speaking business community was totally disillusioned by the failure of Mr Botha to fulfill the promises of real reform and an interracial sharing of power that were raised by the Carlton and Good Hope conferences.

Sir Albert is a veteran of Black African as well as South African politics. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his work as a main architect of the old Central African Federation and was MP for Langlaagte from 1947 to 1953.

He said big business was dismayed by signs that NP leaders were prepared to introduce changes only on condition that they continued to hold total domination in the political arena.

But government action had now become vital in pressing ahead with a precise timetable for the elimination of institutionalized discrimination—such as that in the Group Areas Act and the pass laws—to prepare a better climate in which to negotiate a new constitution.

Sir Albert said: "The NP cannot transform the political atmosphere in isolation. Mr Botha should invite business leaders and a number of homeland and urban black leaders to help form a new non-racial coalition government committed to reform.

"The NP can no longer be the sole arbiter of South Africa's affairs and, if it refuses to recognize this fact, there is bound to be an escalation of internal resistance and external pressure.

"South Africa solved its crises in the 1930's by burying political hatchets and forming a coalition government—when General J.B.M. Hertzog and General Jan Smuts made a peace pact, with enormous benefits for the whole country.

"Today, the nature of the crisis is different—but the route to solutions may be almost identical."

/12712

DISRUPTION IN SCHOOLS SEEN AS CONTINUING IN 1986

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Dec/Jan 86 p 31

[Commentary by Aggrey Klaaste: "Soweto -- Ten Years On"]

[text] Aggrey Klaaste, for whose children 1985 has been yet another year of lost schooling, is less than happy with the thought that next year -- the tenth anniversary of 1976 -- may become a year of disruption from beginning to end.

Writing about children is becoming a speciality for me. I do not have an obsession over the breed, nor am I the type of hale and hearty man who kisses an acquaintance's baby, or chucks the neighbour's son playfully under the chin.

I love children in an open, friendly and I assume healthy way.

The children around today do have a fascination. For one thing, they seem to love going to school. At least my sons do.

At their age, I considered putting distance between myself and the class-room to be the most glorious adventure. I was perhaps too timorous to play truant, too nervously introverted to fail examinations. So I went to school, religiously hating every minute of it. Right up to university, where I spent the worst part of my life.

To make matters worse, my dad had thrown to me the lions, so to speak. I was thrust into a white university, where I stood in dreadful awe of everything and everybody about me.

I say the children of today love school. They do not seem to love it because it is FUN, or that they have a good number of smashing friends around and so forth, as is normal with other children in other societies. They love it because:

(1) they want to become scientists or doctors or like Bishop Desmond Tutu (because he makes a lot of money, my eldest avows) and

(2) because I suspect they enjoy the dangerous excitement of bucking the system.

Bucking authority is normal with most children. My kids do not get much reward from it at home, as I treat them with an easy insouciance. I do not take them, or myself, that dreadfully seriously.

My children like going to school, it seems, so that they can buck the system by boycotting class. Not playing truant, but making a political statement. They also like to meet the "comrades" and generally assume a role of juvenile "revolutionaries" in an unconscious way. I do not think they have a good grasp of revolution.

You thus have two strands of consciousness in black children. Two strands that meet.

When my sons say they wish to be like Bishop Desmond Tutu, they are telling me (the "system" at home) that I could have done better than what I am doing now. They wish to get an education, quickly, so they can be better parents. I suspect, in fact, black children have a sneaking feeling adults have let them down. That we are failures. It seems therefore for those adults who are not educated, the problem assumes even greater magnitude. That is why the poorest black parents will sacrifice a lot to educate their children.

It is not only altruistic, I think. It is possibly the dread that their children should not become a replication of "Boys" and nannies, always shuffling the foot and scratching the head in front of authority (whites). The children, I believe, sense this. They sense it with some inarticulate shame. They then carry the same shameful feelings to school where they sadly meet other black adults, who tremble in front of their superiors (whites, once more) and doff their hats when the telephone from head office rings. Teachers, I am afraid, have lost their sense of authority, of dignity.

My children and their friends are at home as we speak. They have not been to school for a month or so now. They will not write examinations. I do not know what to do with them, what I intend to do with them next year.

An intriguing thing about them generally is a sense of, for lack of a better word, "adultness". In my school days we had sundry fights with the gangster elements and louts who did not go to school and hung around the shops to molest us. We had running battles with them. The tsotsi of today is more arrogant, perhaps more of a menace. My children and their friends do not run away when they molest them. They fight, to the death. I mean that literally. They also go out and kill in revenge.

Just before June 16, I saw a picture taken by one of our photographers, that chilled my blood. A number of school kids were standing triumphantly over the bodies of two gangsters they had stoned to death. These tsotsis, the story went, had molested a school teacher.

I remember vividly the horror expressed in the newsroom. Some people felt it would be wrong to use such an "unAfrican" picture. Some were afraid that our secret, the fact that the kids were slowly taking over, would be exposed. We used the picture on page one. The phone did not stop ringing the next day as outraged parents and politicians affirmed those secret fears. Such skeletons, they believed, are better left in the cupboard.

I remember how we agonised over the class boycotts in Soweto before June 16, 1976. You could say this is the wisdom of hindsight, but 'suspect we were afraid of what was happening to our children. We tried to call meetings. I am not wrong to say we played a significant role in the formation of the Committee of Ten. I think we had a sense of our world tumbling in confusion, particularly when boys with s snail of mucus going down their nostrils stopped us. Stopped us to warn us not to go to work! It seemed ridiculous. It was perhaps more dangerous than we had imagined.

I don't know the figures but most children are not at school today. Most will not write examinations. Many classrooms have been burnt down. School offices have been destroyed, windows broken.

If you think that is bad enough, consider this. Next year is the tenth anniversary of June 1976. We hear rumours that our children and the "comrades" will have no nonsense about going to school -- the whole year.

/12851

JPRS#RS Leave

DAILY'S CARTOONISTS FEATURE YEAR'S BEST WORK

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Dec 85 pm 9,11,11,11

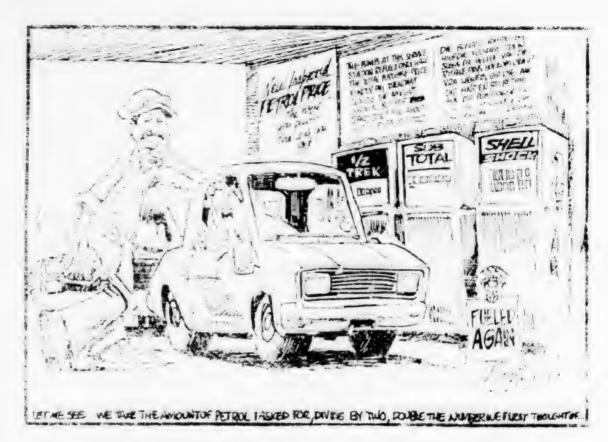
[Text and cartoons]

The STAR's cartoonists--Dave Anderson, Abe Berry and Dov Fedier -- cover the events of our daily lives and bring readers their own special brand of wit. The humour is often veiled in anger, sadness, puzzled frustration at the sheer stupidity of the human race, but it is never crude or hamhanded. Like all truly professional cartoonists, their motto is the rapier rather than the broadsword.

"Andy," as Anderson signs himself, is the newest recruit to our cartoonists' stable. He joined the SUNDAY STAR earlier this year on the closing of the RAND DAILY MAIL. He has made an immediate impact. Typical of his stinging brand of humour is his view of the PM's Durban "Rubicon" speech -- and the disappointing "burp" it produced. Veterans Berry and Fedler consistently hit the news on the nose with their thoughtful analyses of day to day political events.







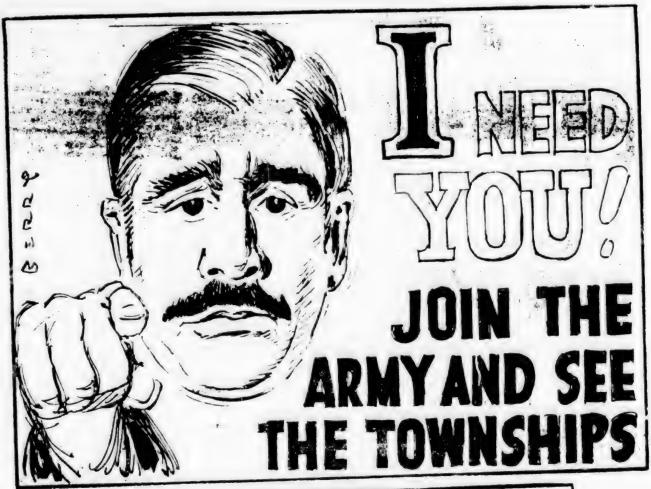


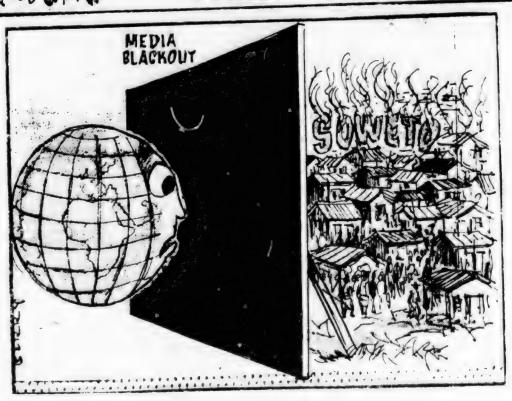


[Caption: "Does anyone remember what Plan B was?"]



[Caption: "To tell you the truth, I'm beginning to feel the draught"]













/9365 CSO:

3400/679

SALARY RISE FOR 175,000 LOWEST PAID CIVIL SERVANTS

Cape Town THE ARGUS in English 6 Dec 85 p 3

[Text]

PRETORIA. — The salaries of 175 000 general assistants in the public service and provincial administration are to be increased, with those at the bottom end of salary scales to receive the largest increase.

This was confirmed today by Mr Wessel Meyer, secretary of the Commission for Administration

However Mr Meyer emphasised that the increases were not across the board and would apply only to those groups with the greatest need, and specifically aimed at improving the situation of the lowest paid employees.

Retrospective

The general assistants, which fall into the occupational class of labourers, include building cleaners, gardeners and forestry workers.

All the increases will be retrospective from November 1, 1985.

Although Mr Meyer could not indicate the total amount involved or what the percentage increase would be, he said that most employees would receive at "least one notch, while those at the bottom end of the salary classes stood to receive the largest amounts."

"The increases, including the backdated payments, will be made as soon as individual departments have completed their adjustments. However, because of the size of the project, it is expected to take some time."

Earlier this year, the salaries of nurses and teachers were increased to bring them more in line with employees in the private sector.

The increase follows the completion of an investigation begun in May this year and formed part of a programme approved by the Government for the 1985/86 financial year.

HIGHEST FAILUPE RATE IN 5 YEARS FOR TRANSVAAL MATRICULANTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN In English 21 Dec 85 p 8

[Article by Helen Simpson]

[Text] The highest failure rate in five years was recorded when the Transvaal Education Department matric results were released yesterday. The number of distinctions obtained also dropped significantly.

A record number of candidates, however, sat for the Standard 10 examinations. They numbered 31 634, compared to 30 975 in 1984.

A total of 29 587 wrote the Senior Certificate Examinations and of these, 26 499 or 89,6 percent passed. The failure rate was 10,4 percent.

This means that a ratio of one in 10 candidates failed. Last year the figure was 9,2 percent.

In 1983 the failure rate was 6,4 percent and in 1982 it was 5,8 percent. In 1981, 6,4 percent of the candidates failed.

University entrance passes went to 47,3 percent of the candidates, representing a drop of 0,7 percent since last year.

The number of distinctions awarded this year dropped by 411 since 1984. Altogether 8 274 distinctions were obtained.

The TED said in a statement that this figure was "a most encouraging feature of the examinations".

"These candidates are from a large number of schools, which is an indication of the high standards maintained throughout the province," it said.

Two candidates obtained eight distinctions, 31 obtained seven and 82 obtained six. A total of of 115 candidates were awarded five distinctions and 241 obtained four.

The practical Standard 10 examination was written by 2 037 candidates, of whom 2 011 passed. This examination marks the end of this course and from

1986 candidates may take subject for the Senior Certificate on three levels--higher, standard and lower grade.

The TED said that subjects chosen by the candidates this year indicated that general formative, career-oriented education was coming into its own.

The largest number of candidates, 7 735 followed the natural sciences field of study. Of the 29 587 candidates, 21 390 wrote mathematics, 15 131 wrote physics and chemistry and 16 642 wrote biology.

For the first time, examinations in the subjects technika (electrical), technika (mechanical) and technika (civil) were written. There was an increase of 414 in the number of candidates who followed the technical field of study.

"Seen in the light of manpower requirements, the number of candidates in these subjects is expected to increase considerably," the TED statement said.

There was also a significant increase in the number of candidates who wrote computer studies. A total of 6 531 followed the commercial field of study.

"There is clearly a constant increase in the number of candidates who wrote subjects in the humanities and the number of pupils who took art, agricultural and home economics remained constant," said the TED.

The research project in which pupils of fully exempted schools and schools with accredited teachers were involved came to an end with these examinations. This project is to be evaluated in 1986.

The results of candidates who were absent for one or more subjects or part of a subject will be released on approximately January 3.

The TED has advised all candidates who want a remark to apply to the regional office under which the school where the examination was written, falls. No applications will be accepted by the examination section of the department.

Applications for supplementary examinations should be made before June 30, 1986 at the school where the candidates originally wrote their examinations.

/13046

NEW KIND OF 'LIBERATION THEOLOGY' TAKING ROOT IN CHURCHES

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Dec 85 p 6

[Article by Peter Honey: "The Christian Church in Turmoil"]

[Text]

NEW kind of "liberation theology" is taking root in most of the country's major Christian churches as a growing number of clergy and lay people — mostly black — seek ways of keeping pace with the revolutionary climate.

At the same time frustration is welling up in the ranks of black clerics from numerous denominations who feel unable to meet the demands of their congregations because they believe the church's predominant white leadership is losing touch with black perceptions.

The groundswell has gained impetus from the on-going political violence in the black townships over the past 15 months, in which more than 900 people have died — most of them as a result of police action.

The movement among a small but influential group of clergy has sparked an outcry from many white Christians who refuse to accept the liberationists' theological distinction between just and unjust violence.

he issue is putting pressure on church leaders — like Nobel prize-winning Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu — to reconsider their intolerance of violence as a means of political and social change.

Church leaders such as Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Philip Russell and Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley are caught between the black-white dichotomy within their ministries, unable to commit themselves to the interests of one community at the expense of the other.

Afrikaner cleric Beyers Naude is one of the few white churchmen who has committed himself to the black cause. As general secretary of the SA Council of Churches — which represents more than 70% of Christians in SA — he told an interviewer recently that if effective international sanctions were not imposed on Pretoria soon "then in all probability churches and individuals will accept violence" and would have to consider seriously the concept of a just war.

Naude's words recall the emergence of liberation theology in Latin America in the late Sixties and Seventies, when writers such as the Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutierrez were quoting clergy as saying: "Let us by all means avoid equating the unjust violence of the oppressors (who maintain this despicable system) with the just violence of the oppressed (who feel obliged to use it to achieve their liberation)."

The most cogent manifestation of SA's own liberation theology is a 25-page treatise known as the "Kairos Document," published recently by Johannesburg's Institute for Contextual Theology and signed by 151 clerics and lay people from 16 mainstream and splinter churches.

Kairos (Greek for "crisis and opportunity") is a challenge to the church leadership. It calls on Christians to "participate in the struggle for liberation" and urges support for civil disobedience programmes, consumer boycotts and work stoppages as means of achieving a just society.

achieving a just society.

It criticises "church theology" for being too spiritual and delivers a scathing attack on what it calls "state theology... the theological justification of the status quo with its racism, capitalism and totalitarianism. It blesses injustice, canonises the will of the powerful and reduces the poor to passivity, obedience and apathy".

he document has unleashed a blistering debate within the church community by describing the traditional Christian profession of non-violence as "extremely suspect," arguing that this stance effectively gives tacit support to the growing militarisation of the State.

One of many churchmen who have problems with the Kairos approach is Catholic priest and Wits University divinty lecturer Patrick Hartin. He agrees that the church should be on the side of the "poor and oppressed" but maintains the traditional view that it has a responsibility to encourage peaceful resolution of problems.

Traditionally, he says, Christianity has emphasised peace and reconciliation, as contained in Christ's teachings of "love thy neighbour" and "blessed are the peacemakers".

But he points out that the Scriptures are full of opposing tenets — for example, Christ's words: "Do you think I have come to give peace on earth? No, I tell you, but rather division" (or "dissension," according to another translation).

Kairos protagonists argue that this side of Christian teaching is the dominant factor and, armed with the premise that the church should side with the oppressed, justify the attainment of justice through dissent; although they stop short of accepting violence.

"This is a complete turnabout of traditional Christian teaching," Hartin maintains. He says that to condone vio-

He says that to condone violence or provoke dissent is to set a dangerous precedent for anyone to declare themselves "oppressed" and therefore justified in using those means against the "oppressor".

Hartin acknowledges, though, that the Kairos approach is gaining ground and he foresees greater conflict between Church and State as the gap widens

State as the gap widens.

But even beyond Kairos is a movement among black clergy who feel stifled by the white leadership of the major churches.

One of these is Durban Methodist minister Otto Mbangula, who says the country does not need a liberation theology as much as it needs a black theology.

whites need to be made more aware of the black predicament, he says. Urban blacks are losing interest in a church which still carries lingering aspects of the missionary era.

"The townships are in flames, but white people don't have this experience at first hand — they are only told about it," says Mbangula. "The Gospel is being lost on black people who have to pray on their feet; who are always on the run."

If the challenge to the Church is explicit, to the State - the de-

clared adversary — it is compelling, even critical.

It is not only through force of arms that the ruling party has been able to maintain power, it has also been through its profession of Christianity as procedud. sion of Christianity as preached by its NG Kerk. Mamelodi's NG Kerk in Afrika

minister Nico Smith points out that it was the Dutch Reformed Church which provided religious justification for apartheid by preaching separation of the

races.

he larger, international churches have always challenged this approach, although Smith accuses them of having been too ready to criticise from a dis-

The campaign is now being taken up by an increasing number of clergy within the Reformed Church community, and as the opposing forces grow ever more strident and forceful, gov-ernment and its white church are

responding with piecemeal social and political reform.

But as an Anglican churchman observed recently: "For black church members the question is no longer how we will work out our problems together — all they want now is to rule."

SAIRR DIRECTOR URGES DESEGREGATION OF EDUCATION

Johannesburg CITY PRESS (Prospects) 15 Dec 85 p 2

[Text] SOUTH Africa could make an immediate start with desegregating education, SA Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said in Johannesburg.

He told the Human Resources Management Outlook seminar of the Institute of Personnel Management that a segregated educational system was not suitable for the manpower profile of the future and it was unlikely black people would ever accept it.

"A 10-year-old white child today who gets his or her first job in commerce or industry at the age of 25, is going to be working in a very different economic environment to any one of us," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"There is a much greater chance that he or she will have a black secretary and a black boss than would be the case today."

Discrimination in industry will be a thing of the past, and the work environment will be almost totally non-racial.

"But how is today's 10-yearold white child being prepared for this environment?" Mr Kane-Berman said.

"He or she is going out of a white suburb and a white school with his or her head full at best of racial stereotypes, and at worst of notions of racial superiority," Mr Kane-Berman said.

On the other hand, Mr Kane-Berman said, the black 10-yearold was also growing up in his residential and educational ghetto, harbouring deep resentments but also having to work very closely with whites in adult life. Citing estimates that only 46 percent of the 210 000 new executives in South Africa needed between 1980 and the year 2000 would be supplied by the white population, Mr Kane-Berman asked whether the current generation of schoolchildren was being adequately prepared for the South Africa that lay ahead.

"Will people of different races be able to deal comfortably and naturally with one another in the commercial and industrial world?

"Would they look back with regret, even anger, that their schooling prepared them for a world which might have existed for their fathers — but does not exist for them?" Mr Kane-Berman asked. Bearing in mind that the educational process lasted from nursery school through to graduation, the future was "with us already", Mr Kane-Berman said.

Mr Kane-Berman said that it was possible to start desegregating education immediately.

He outlined what could be done:

- All authorities with school registering power could be given authority to register schools on a non-racial basis.
- The Government could publicly announce that church and other private schools were free to desegregate.
- The Government could actively encourage the establishment of non-apartheid schools by making subsidies available for them.
- The Government could itself establish non-racial schools.

These steps, Mr Kane-Berman said, "would not cause the skies to fall in or provoke any backlash from the right that could not be contained.

"Nothing would be enforced on anyone – but at least a start would be made with desegregating."

Mr Kane-Berman said that he was confident that as parents looked ahead to the South Africa of the future, the demand for desegregated schools would grow.

SELECTED LABOR STATISTICS PUBLISHED

Johannesburg IIR INFORMATION SHEET in English Oct 85 pp 16-20

[Excerpts] Tables and Statistics

Please note: All facts and figures which appear in the following tables are based on newspaper sources as well as contact with the organisations involved. In some cases it is impossible to obtain further details.

Retrenchments--October 1985

Сотрапу	Sector	Reasons for retrenchment	T.U. involved	No re- trenched	Severance pay	Willingness to re-employ	Source
Epol	Manufac- turing (food)	Recession combined with excessive production facilities	FCWU	300	Generous severance packages will be paid to those employees affected	Efforts are being made to place as many staff as possible within group	CAPE TIMES 3/10/85; BUSINESS DAY 3/10/85
Associated Spinners	Manufac- turing (textile)	Unknown	TWIU	41	Unknown	Union is applying for Interim Relief under 3.43 of LRA	SOWETAN 2/19/85
Sandak- Austral General Marine Engineering	Construc- tion	Expiry of contract	B 9	23	Unknown	Unknown	DAILY NEWS 7/10/85
sabc	Services	Overall rationali- sation	0	330 (over past 3 months)	Up to 3 mouths' salury depending on length of service	Some employees have been re-employed in other positions. People over age of 55 given option of retiring	CITIZEN 10/11/85; STAR 9/11/85
Hepworths Stores	Commerce	-Liquidation -Closure of brunches	1	150 (over last 18 months)	Unknown	Alternative employment found for workers. However, a surfact too may be althored by may be althored by may be althored by	BUSINESS DAT
eneral.	Manufac- turing	Recession	NAAWU	250	Pro rata sous add minimum of one wonth's salary mending on	(Inknown	BUSINESS DA" 25/10/85; SOWETAN 29/10/8.
	Manutac-	-Recession -Closure of Neave plant	NAME	30	Unk nosm	Unkasan	BUSINESS DAY 25/10/65; DAILY DISPATCH
Marai Mercury Araus	Masutac- turing (news-	Merger between Matal Mercury and Argus Group		67	Benefits include two months' pay and a week's pay for each year of service	Unknovm	CITIZEN 29/10/85; STAR 24/13/89
Senture-	Commerce (adver-	Loss of major account	\$ 8	55	All those retrenched Unknown to receive severance	Unknown	BUSINESS DAY

Recognition Agreements--October 1985

Parties involved	Sector	Month	Contents of Agreement	Source
BMW and NAAWU	Manufac- turing	October	Agreement provides that in the event of a strike authorised by the union, workers will not be dismissed for four weeks. The union may only authorise a strike after it has gone through the agreed negotiation and dispute procedures.	SOWETAN 16/10/85
Barlows Manufacturing and SABS	Manufac- turing	October	A procedural agreement covering all conditions of employment at the company's Kew Site has been concluded, subject to the main agreement on conditions of service in the metal industry.	BUSINESS DAY 10/11/85; STAR 10/11/85; CITIZEN 10/11/85
Gencor and CCAWUSA	Mining	October	Agreement includes health and safety measures, grievance procedures and covers workers who do general duties at the company's Johannesburg headquarters.	SOWETAN 31/10/85
Blackchain (NAFCOC) and FEDCRAW	Commerce	October	Unknown	SOWETAN 31/10/85

Strikes, Disputes, Workstoppages, Lockouts--October 1985

Please Note: The tables must be viewed with the following considerations: Accurate information for tables is difficult to obtain because:

The figures only represent an analysis of strikes reported in the press; and

causes and reasons (i.e., not only are strikes reported on subject to the vigilance of the press, but also They are, at best, superficial indicators of trends rather than an in-depth representation of actual overt public reasons may differ considerably from "underlying causes").

Company/ Trade union	Issue	No of workers involved	Duration	Area and sector	Event and outcome	Source
Msauli Asbestos Mine	Wages	1,700	± 5 days	Barberton E. Transvaal	Workers returned to work after "misunderstanding" over recent wage increases cleared up	BUSINESS DAY 21/10/85
Harrop Alling- RAWU	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Pretoria	Unknown	SOWETAN 2/10/85
Printpak Gravure- PWAWU	-Dismissal of colleague	06	2 weeks	Industria	Workers returned to work following decision of arbitrator who found that worker had been unfairly dismissed and ordered his reinstatement from 9/10/85	STAR 14/10/85, 17/10/85, 28/10/85
DaGama Textiles- Dismissals SAAWU	Dismissals	200	Unknown	East London	90 percent of workforce returned to work. Staff committee being elected to deal with management team.	DAILY DISPATCH 4/10/85, 12/10/85
darmfare Chicken- SFAWU	-Wages -Working conditions	200	Unknown	Wynberg, Tvl	Workers returned to work following legal lock-out by company	SOWETAN 16/10/85; STAR 17/10/85

[Chart continued on next page]

Company/ Trade	on so	No of workers		Area and		
	T-0.0 C	THACTONIT	Dataston	sector	באפוור מוום סמרכסווופ	Source
Premier Milling- FCWU	-Dismissals -Recognition	400	Unknown	Kroonstad	Workers returned to work following recognition of FCWU. TMWU failed to achieve representivity	SOWETAN 16/10/85
Paxellent (Metal Box) PWAWU	-Dismissals -Reinstatement	150	3 days	Transvaal	Workers returned to work. Matter being referred to arbitration	SOWETAN 18/10/85; STAR 18/10/85
Meadow Feed Mills	Dismissal	70	3 hours	Pieter- martizburg	Workers returned to work after management assured them dismissed worker could appeal through normal channels	DAILY NEWS 17/10/85
Borg Warner- NAAWU	Unknown	170	Unknown	Uitenhage	Workers dismissed. Negotiations continuing	DAILY DISPATCH 23/10/85
Metal Box- SAAWU	Retrenchment	200	Unknown	Rosslyn Pretoria	Workers downed tools in protest against hiring of white workers after 22 black workers had been retrenched	SOWETAN 29/10/85
Coca-Cola- FBWU	-Dismissals -Retrenchment	689	Unknown	Sandfontein Pretoria	Negotiations taking place between union and manage- ment. Union alleges dis- missals were unfair	SOWETAN 1/11/85

Department of Manpower Strike Figures

Strikes in 1985 (Up to September 12)

Sector	Number of strikes	Persons involved	Man-days lost	Man-days lost
Mining	21	100,302	253,091	118,204
Manufacturing	111	39,407	119,498	224,664
Electricity	1	1,466	1,594	1,585
Construction	9	2,916	5,107	3,312
Commerce	18	2,258	2,429	20,187
Transport/communication	11	2,118	1,864	10.977
Local authorities	3	447	281	783
Total	174	148,914	383,864	378,712

FINANCIAL MAIL 18/10/85

Workseekers in RSA According to:

(a) Occupation Groups, and

(b) Areas as at the end of August 1985

(a) Occupational groups	Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	Total
Professional and semiprofessional	1,108	80	96	98	1,382
Technical	388	62	90	5	545
Managerial and executive	1,042	145	140	15	1,342
Administrative	4,961	418	896	98	6,373
Clerical	6,257	2,543	1,826	2,341	12,967
Sales and related work	3,117	1,243	720	1,241	6,321
Tradesmen	4,255	5,053	1,246	2,165	12,719
Apprentices	304	120	62	246	732
Mining industry	336	9		168	513
Transport, delivery and communicati	on 509	1,109	431	2,499	4,548
Operators and semiskilled workers	2,512	12,632	5,410	11,817	32,371
Services	2,047	988	380	9,520	12,935
Farming machine operators	22			31	53
General farm workers	23	4		138	165
Unskilled workers	603	4,816	689	20,494	26,602
Sheltered employment	366	20	1	-	387
Unclassified	220	83	152	2,108	2,563
Total	28,070	29,325	12,139	52,984	122,518

[table continued]

[continuation of table]

Whites	Coloureds	Asians	Blacks	Total
10,489	5,144	996	13,963	30,592
4,207	12,186	15	1,290	17,698
5,179	2,780	10,930	18,106	36,995
2,506	432	111	8,551	11,600
2,792	5,011	50	5,819	13,672
1,664	801		1,659	4,124
586	421	24	3,020	4,051
263	1,660	13	548	2,484
384	890		28	1,302
28,070	29,325	12,139	52,984	122,518
	10,489 4,207 5,179 2,506 2,792 1,664 586 263 384	10,489 5,144 4,207 12,186 5,179 2,780 2,506 432 2,792 5,011 1,664 801 586 421 263 1,660 384 890	10,489 5,144 996 4,207 12,186 15 5,179 2,780 10,930 2,506 432 111 2,792 5,011 50 1,664 801 586 421 24 263 1,660 13 384 890	10,489 5,144 996 13,963 4,207 12,186 15 1,290 5,179 2,780 10,930 18,106 2,506 432 111 8,551 2,792 5,011 50 5,819 1,664 801 1,659 586 421 24 3,020 263 1,660 13 548 384 890 28

(Department of Manpower 14/10/85)

Current Population Survey--Coloureds--As at July 1985 (In 000's)

	Total	Male	Female
Total population	2,852	1,408	1,444
Noneconomically active	1,811	772	1,039
Economically active	1,041	636	405
Workers	956	586	370
Unemployed	85	50	35
Percent unemployed	8.2	7.9	8.7

(Central Statistical Services 7/10/85)

Current Population Survey--Asians--As at July 1985

	Total	Male	Female
Total population	892,166	442,964	449,202
Noneconomically active	594,680	222,607	372,073
Economically active			
Total	297,486	220,357	77,129
Workers	274,786	205,984	68,802
Unemployed	22,700	14,373	8,327
Percent unemployed	7.6	6.5	10.8

(Central Statistical Services 15/10/85)

Current Population Survey--Blacks--As at July 1985 (In 000's)

	Total	Male	Female
Total population	18,826	9,690	9,136
Noneconomically active	12,495	5,498	6,997
Economically active	6,331	4,192	2,139
Workers	5,840	3,964	1,876
Unemployed	491	228	263
Percent unemployed	7.8	5.4	12.3

(Central Statistical Services 15/10/85)

Application for Cancellation/Registration of Trade Unions/Employer Organisations/Industrial Councils

Labour Relations Act, 1956

Industry/trade	Comments	G.G. No	Date
Master Builders' Association (Witwatersrand and Transvaal South)	Application for variation of scope	9952	4/10/85
South African Wrought Non- ferrous Metal Manufacturers' Association	Cancellation of registration	n 9952	4/10/85
National Union of Forestry and Allied Workers	Application for registration	n 9970	18/10/85
Council for the Clothing Industry (Orange Free State and Northern Cape)	Application for variation of scope	9970	18/10/85
Eastern Province Automobile Manufactuers' Association	Application for variation of scope	9970	18/10/85
National Union of Bank Employees (SA)	Cancellation of registration	9979	25/10/85

/9365

BRIEFS

NUM MEMBERS REMAIN IN HOSTELS—Johannesburg, Dec 20, SAPA—About 1500 mine—workers are still refusing to leave their hostels in Manakgole in protest at their dismissal by the Phosphate Development Corporation (FOSKOR) mine in Phalaborwa, a spokesman for their union the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said this afternoon. He said the situation remained "extremely tense" but mediation talks, agreed to by FOSKOR and the NUM yesterday, would start this afternoon. FOSKOR dismissed 1000 workers last Thursday after they downed tools in support of a demand for the reinstatement of 389 colleagues who were dismissed for striking last December in protest at the arrest of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the general—secretary of the NUM. Another 500 workers joined their colleagues in the hostel when they came off shift. The management of FOSKOR was not available for comment this afternoon. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1243 GMT 20 Dec 85 MB] /12712

DUNCAN FEARS 'BEIRUT-TYPE CONFLICT'--Johannesburg, Dec 23, SAPA--The Black Sash was deeply concerned at the speed with which political conflict in South Africa was approaching a state of civil war, the National President of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, said today. She said in recent weeks there had been "atrocious and tragic" deaths in Messina, Mamelodi, Moutse, Maseru and now Amanzimtoti. "There is a real danger that the current reliance by all groups on weapons of war--guns, petrol bombs, limpet mines, landmines, a powerful army, uncontrolled security policy powers and violent repression-will lead us into an endless destructive hopelessness in a Beirut-type conflict in which there is no justice, no truth, no peace and no freedom from fear. "Unless the state president and members of the cabinet demonstrate an urgent commitment to dismantle apartheid completely (and that means stopping homeland consolidation, pass laws, influx control, removals, race classification and group areas) and rapidly instituting a constitutional democracy and the rule of law, we can see no hope for peace in this country. "The responsibility for what happens in the future rests on those who hold power now," Mrs Duncan said. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1343 GMT 23 Dec 85 MB1 /12712

ANC: BENIN OIL TO SOUTH AFRICA

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 18 Oct 85 p 34

[Article: "Continued Speculations On Oil For South Africa"]

[Text] The South African liberation organization ANC (African National Congress) has been aware for some weeks of speculations that oil from Benin may be shipped to South Africa, according to a representative of ANC's London office. But the representative also stressed that ANC has no information to back up the speculations.

The Amsterdam-based Shipping Research Bureau, as well, which monitors and maps out oil shipments to the South African apartheid regime, admits knowledge of similar speculations, although they can demonstrate no proof.

Here in Norway, both the Department of Commerce and Saga Petroleum are acquainted with similar speculations, but both of them emphasize that they are not in possession of any proofs.

The ANC, the Shipping Research Bureau, the Department of Commerce and Saga also admit knowledge of speculations that South Africa may have ownership interests in Pan Ocean, the firm that has taken over Saga's role as operator in Benin's Seme oil field. But none of them has any proofs of these rumors either.

People acquainted with the speculations are asking themselves where they might be coming from, realizing the possibility that they might all stem from a single source. The next question, then, is what single source is involved—and how reliable it is.

In addition, speculations have been passed on to AFTENPOSTEN that Pan Ocean may have supplied oil to South Africa from Benin's neighbor, Nigeria--a much higher oil producer than Benin.

Pan Ocean had a foothold in Nigeria's petroleum industry before the firm quite recently came into Benin. Norwegian authorities believe that the relations between Pan Ocean and Nigeria are somewhat strained, since the firm is said to owe Nigeria significant amounts of money for oil that it has obtained.

9584 CSO: 3639/28

FAVORABLE TRADE BALANCE REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 85 p 18

[Text]

SOUTH Africa recorded a favourable trade balance of R11 926,6-million in the first 11 months of this year, according to government figures released in Pretoria yesterday.

Preliminary statistics from the Commissioner for Customs and Excise show that by the end of November, exports totalled R33 275,1-million and imports R21 348,5-million.

The trade balance at the same time last year stood at R3 256,2-million.

The import and export figures have been adjusted to bring them into line with the requirements for the compilation of the balance of payments.

A breakdown of the world trading zones showed that Europe remained South Africa's largest trading partner. Exports totalled R8 369,2-million, compared with R6 071,1-million in the same period

last year, while imports stood at R10 018,1-million R8 965-million).

Asia remained South Africa's second largest export partner, with a total of R4 706,1-million (R3 092,3-million).

These were followed by America, with R3 280-million (R2 263,5-million), Africa with R1 451,1-million (R818-million) and Oceania, with R221,4-million (R171,2-million).

After Europe, American imports rated second, with R3 570,3-million (R3 805-million).

Asia was next with a total of R3 146,3-million (R3 799,1-million), followed by Africa, with R418,6-million (R379,5-million) and Oceania, with R256,2-million (R290,6-million).

Other unclassified goods and balance of payments adjustments totalled R15 197,8-million for exports (R10 826,2-million) and R3 939-million for imports (R2 779,3-million).

Ships and aircraft stores exported totalled R49,5-million (R32,4-million).

MAGAZINE CLAIMS INDIA TRADING SECRETLY WITH RSA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Dec 85 p 13

[Text]

LONDON — Major clandestine trade worth millions of rands between India and South Africa has been exposed by the magazine India Today.

The magazine also claims Indian businessmen have been visit-

ing South Africa without visas to clinch deals.

Thirty-one years after official trade links between the two countries were suspended — and India joined the chorus of demands for a global trade boycott against South Africa — an extensive ongoing official investigation in Bombay has revealed flourishing sea and air trade.

Goods bound for South Africa are routed via Mauritius, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland, but are paid for through credit lines opened in London or with other foreign confirming houses.

India's Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI) has served notices on 13 Bombay-based exporting firms, and officials warn that many more arrests and seizures are likely in the near future.

There is also a massive trade in diamonds. India, the world's largest processor of diamonds, gets most of its rough diamonds from South Africa.

INTELLIGENCE REPORTS

Sea trade of vast quantities of spice, brassware, guar gum (used in oil exploration) and cloth was exposed in July this year.

Acting on intelligence reports, the government ordered MV Atair, a Colombo-bound vessel flying a Singapore flag, to return to Cochin harbour because it was suspected of carrying goods to South African ports.

Officials found a number of containers on board consigned for Maputo. What intrigued them was that many containers were con-

signed to Maputo(D).

The puzzle was solved when DRI officials raided the Bombay offices of several major exporting firms. Files they examined revealed that the letter "D" stood for Durban.

Deputy director of the DRI, Mr Anand Kala, says: "We seized

Deputy director of the DRI, Mr Anand Kala, says: "We seized the shipments of a number of companies after tip-offs from our sources and are now serving them with show-cause notices."

India Today also says Indian businessmen have visited South Africa in spite of their passports not having an endorsement.

A Bombay shipper says: "The South Africans are generous with

A Bombay shipper says: "The South Africans are generous with Indians. All you need is a South African citizen to introduce you to his Government and you can enter the country without a visa."

Calling for Sanctions -- But Best Friend in Diamond Trade

LONDON — India, which pleads for worldwide mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, is a South African partner in the massive trade in diamonds.

It is the world's largest processor of rough diamonds, employing half a million people in cutting and processing stones from South Africa.

India Today says most are bought from the Central Selling Organisation, a commercial collective run by De Beers and its subsidiary, the Londonbased Diamond Trading Company (DTC).

The Indian Government holds 50 percent of the Hindustan Diamond Company Ltd. "It was meant to try and break the South African stranglehold on the diamond trade but over the years has worked for the benefit of the South African monopoly as part of DTC's worldwide market intelligence set-up."

India Today also says South Africa has been trying to destroy India's diamond industry by improving the quality of stones supplied to Israel.

India's only recourse is to seek independent arrangements with other producers such as Australia, Botswana, Zaire and even Russia.

It could underwrite the entire production of Botswana and Russia and emerge as a major force but the market remembers that Botswana tried to sell its own diamonds only to have the price cut by De Beers—causing them huge losses.

/9274

TAX-PAYERS' REVOLT SEEN IMMINENT

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Dec 85 p 21

[Article by Michael Chester: "Pay Rises Don't Keep You Ahead of Inflation"]

[Text]

Most taxpayers have become bewildered to find the harder they work and the more they earn the worse off they seem to be, says Miss Jane Ashburner who runs the remuneration division at P-E Corporate Services.

"The mystery deepens when the experts use jargon such as 'bracket creep' or 'fiscal drag' but really it's quite simple

- they're trapped in a Catch 22 dilemma.

"The first ogre is inflation, which gnaws away at living standards, but an even worse ogre is our tax system which strips away rands faster the harder one tries to increase gross income to stay ahead of the price spiral.

"South Africa has a tax revolt on its hands because of the sharpness of the upward curve in the marginal tax rate that reaches a point where the taxman snatches 50c from every rand an unmarried person earns above R3 500 a month.

"The married person does not reach the ultimate 50 percent marginal tax rate until income goes over R5 000 a month—but very often that is the combined income of a husband and wife, which the taxman in sists on lumping together.

"Lower down the income scale, more and more taxpayers are pushed up the tax ladder — nearer and nearer the supertax bracket — the faster they try to keep pace with inflation with pay increases.

"It is the middle-income family that suffers most and is

most baffled and frustrated. Something in the tax structure is going to snap. The sooner the better."

To illustrate the Catch 22 syndrome — and steer clear of the fiscal drag mumbo-jumbo — Miss Ashburner takes the case of a person on a middle-income gross salary of R2 500 a month five years ago.

He forked out R5 000 in tax that year — at an average tax rate of 16,7 percent. His annual take-home pay was R25 000, just enough to cover all living expenses.

Now...

If his pay packet grew at 12 percent a year in the struggle with inflation his gross salary in 1985 stands at R3 916 a month but his annual tax bill has raced to R12 500 because the marginal rate ladder has propelled his average tax rate to 26,6 percent.

If one assumes his living expenses kept in step with inflation they now total R39 500. Result: while he balanced the budget in 1981 he is running R5 000 short in trying to pay all his bills in 1985.

Mr Costa Divaris, another top tax planner, brings out more anomalies in trends.

Five years ago individuals paid R2,1 billion to the Department of Inland Revenue — a relatively modest 16 percent of total tax revenue.

Because of the quirks of the marginal rate ladder as salaries battle it out with the cost of living index, individuals will be stripped of R9 billion in the 1986 tax year. That 16 percent share of the burden has mushrcomed to 32 percent—and that's before GST—up from only R1,6 billion in 1981 to R8,3 billion.

What also looks weird — and is the subject of lots of controversy — is that the share shouldered by companies has shrunk. In 1981 company tax totalled R5,2 billion or 41 percent of the total tax burden. In 1986, on current estimates, taxes will have grown to no higher than R6,1 billion — bringing the company share down to only 22 percent.

The reasons are not too hard to find. Though the company

tax rate is pitched at 50 percent, leaving aside loan levies and surcharges, the corporate financial wizards burn the midnight oil to find loopholes to dilute tax liability.

As Mr Divaris puts it, while big business is a big complainer about the tax system it is also a big beneficiary.

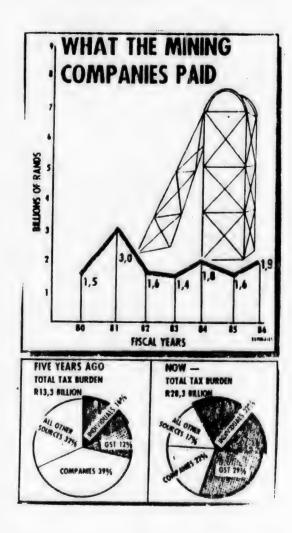
Not that the benefits are equally shared by companies.

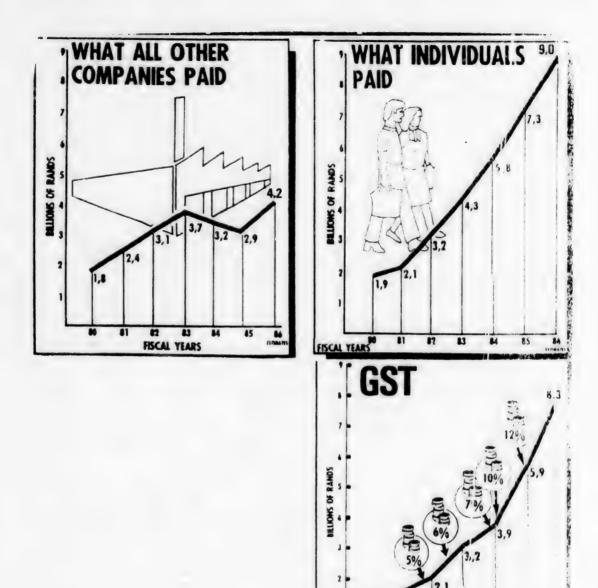
The major tax concessions are enjoyed by the big mining and industrial corporations, farmers and exporters.

Small businesses — wholesalers, retailers and service and property companies — often end paying their full whack out of profits.

Professor Attie de Vries, of the Bureau for Economic Research at Stellenbosch University, always with an ear close to the inner sanctums, forecasts that the Minister of Finance is likely to tackle the company tax anomalies when he scrapes away to find the cash to finance tax cuts for individuals in the next Budget.

The professor predicts that Mr Barend du Plessis will search for a formula that will pitch the really effective tax rate for companies at about 40 percent.





1,6

FISCAL YEARS

1,3

/9274

STATE SPENDING SURGES IN NOVEMBER

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by John Tilston]

[Text]

STATE spending in November was 15,6% above the level of the same month last year.

It spent R2,7bn last month, the highest monthly amount since July, to bring cu-mulative expenditure since April to R21,4bn (R17,9bn).

The second half of the year traditionally makes lower demands on the Treasury, and the increased spending reflects government's switch to a policy of economic stimulation.

The decision to increase State spending was implemented last month and the full impact has yet to work its way through to expenditure figures.

Estimates are that when the Treasury closes its books at the end of March next year, expenditure could be considerably more than Ribn higher than revised budget estimates of R31,45bn.

Last month, government dismissed suggestions that the tax rate should be cut to stimulate the economy on the grounds that the multiplier effect (the extent to which increased spending causes ripples through the economy) of state spending was greater and more immediate than any tax cut.

For state spending to achieve the tar-

get set in the revised budget - 13,6% above the level of fiscus 1984/85 above the level of fiscus 1984/85—increases over last year's levels would need to be contained to 8% in the second half of this financial year. That clearly will no longer be achieved.

Government has pledged, however, to limit the deficit before borrowing to 3% of gross domestic product, which would be about R3,5bn.

By the end of September, after six

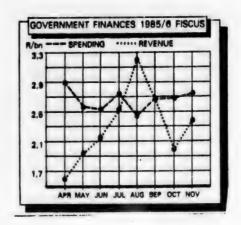
By the end of September, after six months of this fiscal year, the deficit had reached R2,05bn.

Taking burgeoning revenue into account, this suggests that government could spend an additional R1.7bn over and above budgetted levels in the ramining four months of the financial year.

Revenue for the year so far is 25% ahead of last year's levels. The budget estimated receipts would be 18,8%

In November, Exchequer receipts were R2,3bn (R1,9bn), bringing total revenue collected this financial year to

R18,5bn (R14,8bn).
According to the Reserve Bank, in the first half of fiscus 85/86 income tax payments by non-mining companies and by gold mines rose by 53% and 55% respectively against budget estimates of 10% and 21%.



EMPLOYERS WARNED NOT TO INDEX WAGES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Dec 85 p 17

[Article by Peter Farley]

[Text]

The inflation rate could reach as high as 24 percent next year, but as long as employers resist indexing wage contracts South Africa should avoid entering the realms of hyper-inflation.

Unisa's Professor Colin Rogers, writing for stockbrokers Frankel Kruger, says that two conflicting factors currently dominate perceptions about the future for inflation.

"Those of a monetarist persuasion are looking to the slower growth in the monetary aggregates as an indication that the rate of inflation will decline. Those of a more eclectic nature point to the weak rand and its cost-push inflationary expectations."

But, though all monetary 23-gregates are currently growing at negative real rates on an annualised basis (M-1 has even registered a nominal decline of 2.6 percent in September), Professor Rogers says that inflation is now predominantly under the influence of the exchange rate and the cost-push factors that result from a collapse in the rand.

He adds that it would be a mistake to attempt to predict the rate of inflation on the basis of the current behaviour of the monetary aggregates.

He notes that it should also be mentioned that the Reserve Bank can hardly claim to have brought the money supply under control. "To make such a claim under the present depressed circumstances is to add a new dimension to the meaning of the word control."

Weak rand

But, accepting that the rand will dominate the immediate inflationary pressures, Professor Rogers stresses that the response of wages and salaries to the initial cost-push inflation of a weaker rand will determine the momentum gained by inflation over the next two years.

He notes that taking a longerterm inflation rate of 13 percent and, assuming no response on the part of wages/salaries and no reduction in profit margins or changes in taxes, the weak rand will add a further eight percent to the Consumer Price years.

This scenario implies an 18 percent inflation rate next year and 16 percent in 1987. But, assuming that wages/salaries attempt to keep pace with inflation secondary cost effects are introduced which add a potential 17 percent on to the CPI over the next two years.

Applying the same assumptions, this would mean an inflation rate next year of 24 percent and 21 percent the year after.

He emphasises that the factor of wage restraint has unfortunately been one element neglected by the recent monetarist dominated debate on inflation.

"The ball game has changed, however, and it is somewhat ironic that monetary targets are likely to be introduced just at the moment when they are not required."

What should be introduced, argues Professor Rogers, is

wage increases. "The least the authorities could do is set a good example by restraining wage and salary increases in the public sector."

But, he notes, with profits buoyant in the export sector those companies are likely to be sympathetic to wage demands, and though other sectors' wages are likely to increase initially at a much slower rate the pressure to catch up will build over time.

Therefore, he concludes, the upper estimates of the inflationary impact of the weak rand are the most likely.

But, he warns, "if the authorities react to an abnormally high inflation by indexing wage contracts, then the battle against inflation is effectively lost and the scene set for hyperinflation.

"South Africa is not yet in that position, but as the rate of inflation rises the demand for such indexation will increase it should be resisted at all costs."

19274

GROSS DOMESTIC SAVINGS UP TO 30 PERCENT OF GDP

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Dec 85 p 7

[Article by Lesley Lambert]

[Text]

GROSS domestic saving increased further in the third quarter to 30% of gross domestic product, says the Reserve Bank.

Higher tax receipts, rather than decreased spending, prompted the improved savings performance from a ratio of 20,5% of GDP in the second quarter of 1984 to 30% between June and September this year.

Gross domestic saving exceeded gross domestic investment during this period, which meant that excess funds were available for reducing foreign debt.

available for reducing foreign debt.

Personal savings at a seasonally-adjusted annual rate reached R8,2bn at the end of the third quarter, 220% higher than in the same period last year.

than in the same period last year.

They fell slightly when compared with the second quarter but, with personal disposable incomes also subdued, the personal savings ratio declined only fractionally between the second and third quarters.

Limited corporate cash flows, as a

Limited corporate cash flows, as a result of the recession, caused saving by companies to decline in the third quar-

ter.

PERSONAL SAVINGS
(SEASONALLY ADJUSTED AT ANNUAL RATES)

1984			1
1984			
6 689	59 024	60 389	64 518
1985			
70 278	II 72 620	III 73 48 1	
		AVINGS	
1986			
1 089	II -52	III 2 587	IV 5 284
1986			
7 480	H 8 540	III B 223	

But higher depreciation allowances more than outweighed the decline.

Savings exceeded gross domestic investment.

. The excess funds were used to reduce the country's foreign debt.

/13046

VOLKSKAS BANK PREDICTS 3-4 PERCENT GROWTH

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Andre Van Zyl]

[Text] THE economy will grow between 3% and 4% in 1986, provided there are no surprises, but momentum of the upswing is not expected to continue into 1987 says Volkskas Bank.

Business planning must therefore take place with the "greatest circumspection" and the strengthening of reserves of companies and households should receive top priority, it says in its latest Economic Spotlight.

Developments in the economy during 1986 will be largely determined by autonomous events such as occurrences in the economies of its trading partners, the domestic security situation and, particularly, the outcome of the negotiations in respect of SA's foreign debt.

Unforeseen events, such as those which occurred in 1985, can make short work of economic forecasts, and flexibility and adaptability are necessary more now than ever.

The bank attributes the expected growth to higher export volumes which will filter through to the rest of the economy, some improvement in inventory levels, some import replacement as a result of the weak exchange rate, and a deliberate and sustained economic policy aimed at the stimulation of domestic demand.

Domestic demand is expected to make the largest contribution to gross domestic product. Private consumption expenditure may increase moderately in 1986 as growth-supporting monetary policies, selective tax reductions and expectations of a sustained high inflation rate, will encourage consumer spending.

will encourage consumer spending.

Real government expenditure will accelerate owing to a declared policy of economic stimulation.

/13046

RUSH TO PURCHASE TV'S, MAJOR APPLIANCES REPORTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Cherilyn Ireton]

[Text]

WARNINGS of big increases in the prices of television sets and video recorders have caused a rush on stocks at major retail outlets.

Sales have risen since it became known that average increases in the prices of household appliances would range between 20% and 50% in the new

year.
"VCR sales are up 40% on last year and we are selling 20% more television sets, fridges and microwave ovens," said Dion merchandising manager Steve Kurland.

He expected the boom to last as long as old-price stocks held out.

Radio and Television Manufacturers Association chairman Peter Dupin warned, however, that old stock was

disappearing fast.
"At the beginning of November, manufacturers had only six weeks' stock left.
This allowed for the increased seasonal demand and the factory shutdowns."
Kurland said basic colour TV sets,

including GST, would cost R2 500 from January.
"A top-of-the-range set will sell for

R3 350 and, if a Teledata module is included, it will retail at almost R4 000.

"A basic portable monochrome set which sold at R199 last Christmas will sell for R299 this Christmas. From January 1, the price will jump to R490, showing an increase of 146% in the last 13 months." months."

Kurland said retailers could no longer

cushion the increases.

"Stocks of goods imported when the rand was worth 50 US cents are now dangerously low. The next imports will reflect the value of the rand at less than

He said-retailers had been forced to

cut margins to the bone.

"In most cases, the margin on imported goods is less than what is paid in GST."

Dupin hoped these would be the last major increases for some time. However, he said minor price adjustments should be expected when the latest elec-tricity and fuel price increases caught up with manufacturers.

NEDBANK COMES TO TRIOMF'S RESCUE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Dec 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Brian Zlotnick and Stephen Rogers]

[Text]

NEDBANK has come up with a rescue package for Triomf, the fertiliser giant that has been facing severe financial strains.

The banking group has a debt exposure of about 1t200m and has agreed to convert R65m of this debt into Triomf medium-term redeemable preference shares.

The move will beef up Triomf's balance sheet by bolstering its much depleted shareholders' funds, and place it on a sounder footing to provide it with the opportunity to return to profitability.

Nedbank, the lead banker, believes

Nedbank, the lead banker, believes that its client may well now be nursed back to full health.

Besides running up attributable losses of R24,3m in the 18 months to June, Triomf has incurred massive foreign exchange losses since then on uncovered short-term foreign loans of \$69,4m, the repayment of which Nedbank has guaranteed.

The bulk of the foreign loans (\$59,5m) has been converted to a five-year loan repayable at end-June 1990.

At end-June, Triomf's shareholders' funds amounted to only R70m.

However, since the year end, if shareholders' funds are adjusted for the material foreign exchange losses that have mounted with the rand sliding against the dollar and continued trading losses, there is probably little left in the kitty.

Clearly, the highly geared group with debt of some R300m, needed a stronger balance sheet to improve its chance of survival in the troubled fertiliser industry. MD Kobus Becker says that at the end-December all forward exchange contracts expire and the group will be able to take advantage of the weak rand on the export side.

on the export side.

Furthermore, he adds that it has secured profitable three-year contracts for the export of phosphoric acid to Europe. The additional throughput will raise the Richards Bay plant capacity from a current 50% to over 75%.

from a current 50% to over 75%.

Negotiations with Foskor have been completed to provide Triomf with the local supply of phosphate rock, which is expected to lead to a R10m annual savings.

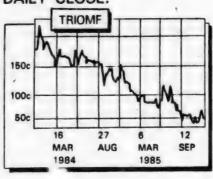
ings.

Becker expects the group to be back in the black in the 1987 financial year.

No doubt the cessation of the fertiliser price war, which has cost the industry R100m over the past year, will help matters.

Tax losses at end-June amount to R221,7m and the fact that preference dividends on the R65m are not deductible for tax purposes is of little significance.

DAILY CLOSE:



/13046

EWING CRISIS: CITIBANK UNDER FIRE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 19 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Linda Ensor]

[Text]

THE Ewing McDonald debt wrangle — in which South Africa's fourth-biggest shipper is unable to pay off debts of R93m — took a new turn yesterday when Citibank denied that political reasons lay behind its refus-

al to help rescue the company.

The United States bank — which earlier this year announced it was halting trade credit to South African firms, as well as private loans — issued a summons last week for repayment of R2,9m after refusing to take part in an arrangement which would have bailed out the company.

In the Rand Supreme Court on Tuesday, Mr Justice R J Goldstone ordered Ewing's seven creditor banks to meet next Monday to consider an offer to pay creditors 40c in the rand.

He was told the company, although solvent, had no immediate resources to meet its liabilities. Nor could it realise its major asset — R22m held in accounts receivable.

Ewing MD Thomas Makinson told Business Day yesterday that Citibank's decision made no commercial sense.

He said Citibank had refused to accept the bailing-out arrangement despite its acceptance by other creditor banks. "I personally cannot understand their stance from a commercial point of view," he said. A Citibank spokesman yesterday denied there were political undertones to its decision. He said the bank had acted on purely business grounds.

Makinson said Ewing's financial plight arose from the fact that it was "the only truly international SA-based shipper".

"The falling rand and the South African debt moratorium therefore had an adverse effect on our business. It has become impossible to obtain credit facilities from overseas banks."

Ewing's South African operation owes bankers R20m. The remainder of the R93,4m owed to banks in Canada, Australia and the US are debts of its subsidiaries, for which it had assumed liability.

No threats by these banks to call up their debts had been received, said Makinson, although they had been informed of this week's developments.

Ewing's main activity is as a freight forwarder, arranging imports and exports carriage and clearance.

Stressing Ewing McDonald was a shipper, rather than a shipping line, Safmarine CE Mike Finlay said: "It shouldn't affect ship-owners, who operate on a cash-only basis. We don't give credit."

MINING, FARMING, UTILITIES LIFT ECONOMY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by John Tilston]

[Text]

THE MINING industry, farmers and the utilities are dragging the economy out of its recession. But the process will be long and arduous, and the resultant growth will at best be only moderate.

That is the message in the latest Reserve Bank Quarterly Bulletin re-

leased on Friday.

Real gross domestic product (GDP) increased moderately in the third quarter, after four quarters of appreciable declines. But the increase resulted from narrowly-based growth in real output, which was largely confined to the primary sectors of the economy.

Gold mining output, depressed by labour strikes in the second quarter, rose sharply in the third quarter. Other sectors which performed well were agriculture (boosted by a good maize crop), the export oriented non-gold mining industry, and the sector supplying electricity, gas and water.

The bulletin said industrial output directly related to essential consumer demand, such as food processing and clothing manufacturing, as well as the real value added by the motor trade, increased sharply in the third quarter.

The fall in retail trading slowed mar-

kedly. But output by the manufacturing industry as a whole, the overall trade sector, the construction industry, and the transport sector continued to slide.

The overall level of profits increased in the third quarter because of the huge rand profits being made by gold mining companies. Other sectors did not fare so

well. The manufacturing and construction sectors in particular were still under severe pressure.

Real per capita earnings declined

further across just about every sector.

The private sector's real investment in machinery and other equipment, financed by leases, increased appreciably in the third quarter, spurred by the lower cost of borrowing. The bulletin recorded "noteworthy" increases in real capital expenditure by government.

Inventory levels also increased marginally in the third quarter, after subof the year. But the interruption to the downward trend was largely the result of increases to agricultural and diamond stocks. Expressed as a ratio of real non-agricultural GDP, real commercial and industrial inventories fell from 22,9% at the end of 1984 to 21,8% at the end of September this year.

The overall level of savings increased in the third quarter. As a percentage of GDP it approximated the long-term trend of about 30%. The bulletin said: "The improved savings performance was all the more remarkable if it is taken into account that as recently as the second quarter of 1984 the savings ration amounted to only 20,5%. Gross domestic saving actually exceeded gross domestic investment so that excess funds were available for reducing the country's foreign indebtedness.'

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN FOOD ADVOCATED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 85 p 12

[Article by Brian Stuart: "Minister Says SA Must Satisfy All Its Own Food Needs"]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — It is essential for South Africa to produce enough food for its own needs, Mr Greyling Wentzel, Minister of Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs, said in welcoming the good rains of the past week.

Mr Wentzel told The Citizen that the important stock-grazing areas of the Karoo, North Western Cape and Eastern Cape had had exceptionally

good rains.

The economic prospects for those areas had improved greatly, especially bearing in mind that these areas produced wool and mohair.

Production costs could decrease because farmers would not have to feed their stock once the veld had returned to normal.

As wool and mohair were export products, the present rand-dollar exchange rate would benefit these farmers.

Mr Wentzel said large areas of the summer grain-producing areas had also had good rains, with improved agricultural prospects.

If follow-up rains occurred, especially in the critical month of February, reasonable maize and other crops could be

expected.

"However, it must be borne in mind that the rains have come later than usual and the growing season has been drastically reduced. Exceptionally high maize yields cannot be expected."

cannot be expected."

Mr Wentzel added:
"The drought has caused our natural grazing to deteriorate and farmers must be careful not to overstock their veld after the recent good rains, especially in our extensive grazing areas."

While the weak randdollar exchange rate would benefit exporters, it also had the effect of increasing the input costs of all farmers.

"It is essential that I South Africa should be self-supporting in its food production. Therefore we will have to ensure that our farmers receive a reasonable price for their products so they can stay in production.

"The weak rand has made the importation of food very expensive."

Mr Wentzel stressed the need for follow-up rains, particularly in the summer rainfal! areas, if there was to be a good crop production this season.

/13046

BRIEFS

NATAL SPENDING INCREASES MOST--Natal heads the field as government spending takes off at provincial level, according to figures released by the Central Statistical Services Department. The largest increase in spending was shown by the Natal Provincial Administration, with a rise of 21,4% to R447m in the period January to June. The Cape Provincial Administration is ranked second with a rise of 19,3% to R901m in the same period, followed by the Transvaal Provincial Administration, which has the biggest budget, showing a rise of 14,6% to R1,29bn. Spending was lowest by the Free State Provincial Administration, which also showed the lowest increase of 8,5% to R215m for the period January to May. Major items of expenditure in the Natal budget, which showed the largest increase, were education--27%, hospital services and public health--35,3% and roads and bridges--18,3%. Major items in the Transvaal budget were education--39,1%, hospital services and public health--31,9%, and roads and bridges--13,9%. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Dec 85 p 4] /13046

HARBOURS HANDLED RECORD AMOUNT OF CARGO

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Alan Peat: "Harbours Handled More Cargo"]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA's harbours have handled a larger tonnage of cargo this year than in the

previous three years.

"The tonnages have certainly increased in April to October of this financial year in comparison with immediately previous years, but our revenue is considerably less than was estimated." mated," said John Irving, Sats' assistant GM for harbours.

"The tonnage increased mainly due to the continuing rise in our bulk exports like coal. But the exchange rate has had a dismal effect on

our revenue, and we had a very severe drop in high-rated imports."

The total tonnage in the April to October period was 56,7-million this year compared

with 53,7-million in the same period last year.

Of this total, bulk cargoes contributed a total of 42,9-million tons — 40,7-million tons shipped and 2,2-million tons landed.

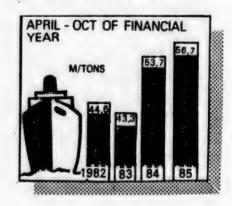
General cargo, both break-bulk and containerised, totalled 13,3-million tons — 8,3-million tons shipped and 5-million tons landed.

The remaining 0,5-million tons was the small

tonnage transhipped for forward shipment.

The movement of containers in October of this year saw 49 000 pass in and out of the various ports — 24 320 of these being shipped out and 24 680 being landed.

TOTAL TONNAGE HANDLED BY ALL HARBOURS



PRIVATE AIRLINES TO GET OWN TERMINAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 85 p 18

[Text]

SOUTH Africa's 16 private airlines — which transport about half-amillion people a year — have been granted permission to organise their own airport terminal, handling of baggage and movement of passengers to and from aircraft.

Pieter van Hoven, chairman of the South African Airlines' Association, said the move follows lengthy negotations with the Government's Department of Transport and South African Airways. Government policy previously stipulated that all airport terminal handling should exclusively be undertaken by SAA.

Mr Van Hoven, managing director of Comair, the Republic's largest private airline, said the Airlines Association had already invested more than R100 000 in vehicles for passenger and baggage transport at Jan Smuts Airport. It is planned to extend the facilities to Louis Botha and D F Malan airports in future.

"In addition, we have also been allocated a seperate entrance, Terminal C at the northern end of the international arrivals hall at Jan Smuts, solely for the use of the private airlines. The new arrangement has enabled the Airlines Association to move baggage and passengers of arriving flights almost simultaneiously instead of having to wait while giant aircraft are being offloaded," Mr van Hoven said.

To cope with its own passenger transport and baggage handling at Jan Smuts Airport, the Airlines Association has formed a private company, Commuter Handling Services, with its Johannesburg-based members subscribing to the share capital and sharing the profits.

The Airlines Association will in future also handle baggage and move passengers from company-owned smaller aircraft, light plane charters and even mercy flights landing at Jan Smuts.

Mr Van Hoven estimated that the new company would handle more than a thousand items of luggage, weighing 20 000 kg, daily at Jan Smuts.

WOOL INDUSTRY HAS BANNER YEAR

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Dec 85 p 19

[Text]

SOUTH Africa's wool industry grossed a record R402-million in 1984/85, compared to the previous season's R290-million, in spite of a 3,4 percent production decline to 98,2-million kg, according to the Wool Board's annual report, released in Pretoria.

The average price of wool rose by about 42 percent during the season, which meant that for the first time in more than a decade, wool farmers received a real increase in income of more than 25 percent, the board's chairman, Mr P W van Rooyen, reported.

More than 85 percent of the country's wool clip had been exported and the 42 percent increase in the rand value of wool prices during the season was largely attributable to the weakening of the rand

in relation to the currencies of the wool-buying countries.

"In terms of the basket of currencies of wool-buying countries, wool prices increased by some 7 percent — and this is ascribed mainly to improved demand, particularly for finer wool," he said.

On prospects for the coming season, Mr Van Rooyen said it was anticipated the demand for wool would continue to rise, although at a slower rate than in 1984-85.

In South Africa, the indications were that wool prices would benefit from the weaker rand during the first half of the 1985-86 season and that the average price would in all probability be very close to the high levels of the past season.

SHIPPING LINES LOSE TONNAGE TO TRUCKS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Dec 85 p 2

[Text]

COASTAL shipping lines are losing business to road hauliers more capable of flexible pricing, says Trevor Jones, of the University of Natal's Economic Research Unit.

In a report on coastal sea transport and inter-modal competition, he says shipping lines have greater expenses than road hauliers.

Hauliers do not pay much for the roads they use, while lines pay high tariffs towards the cost of harbours.

"Data presented by Unicorn Lines and the transport economists at Rand Afrikaans University indicate that coastal sea transport lost an annual equivalent of 415 000 freight tons of cargo to other modes of transport between 1979 and

Jones's economic model shows sea to be the cheapest transport mode on 11 out of 14 major coastal routes, with rail filling the other three slots. Therefore, on the basis of cost-efficiency, he says that road haulage is not needed on major coastal routes, except where speedy service and product perishability are important factors.

Road transporters have, however, been making further inroads into traditional sea transport markets in recent months.

The report highlights paper products carried from Natal to the Eastern Cape and Border areas.

Road hauliers carrying Natal paper products apparently priced below average cost on certain routes and make up profits by finding small loads to bring back for other clients.

In this way they cover variable costs, make a small profit and outprice the shipping lines.

/13046

EARNINGS FROM TEXTILE EXPORTS SET TO INCREASE

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Lawrence Bedford]

[Text] Earnings from textile exports are likely to rise sharply next year, says Textile Federation executive director Stan Shlagman.

The main reasons are the weaker rand and a new agreement allowing SA exporters to increase shipments to the US by 25%.

Exports of spun man-made fibre yarns to the US totalled 453,5-tons between June 1984 and May 1985--400% up on the previous year--and led to quota talks between the two countries.

Under a three-year agreement worked out between government officials of the two countries, SA this year may export finished yarns 24% above shipments cleared into the US for the 12 months ending May 1985, with a 5% volume increase in each of the next two years.

Shlagman says total SA textile exports this year are worth about R80m and predicts this could rise to R110m in 1986.

He adds that negotiations on US quotas took place at the same time as the passage through Congress of the Trade and Apparel Control Bill, which gives the US protection against imports from countries over which its degree of control is deemed inadequate. Other countries have been forced to accept restraints.

Countries like Mexico, Turkey and Brazil--caught in a situation similar to SA's--have been forced to accept restraints, including a roll-back to previous penetration levels.

However, Shlagman says SA enjoyed certain advantages in its negotiations with the US.

"Apart from the favourable trade balance in favour of the US as a supplier of raw materials to the SA textile industry, we have argued that SA has no physical or quantitative controls on US goods entering the country."

/13046

SWITCH TO RO-RO FREIGHTERS EXPECTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 17 Dec 85 p 6

[Article by George Young]

[Text]

FEW important changes are expected in the national commercial shipping fleet next

On the short-sea trades plied by Gencor's Unicorn Line, a switch to roll-on roll-off (roro) freighters is possible, since the nature of the cargoes being moved along the seaboard would favour this type of vessel, assuring quicker turn-round and less dependence on wharfside cranes.

SA has been slow to recognise the virtue of ro-ro ships, and while the two locally-built cellular carriers Berg and Breede have proved satisfactory, not all the cargoes lend themselves to being boxed.

There has been an extension of containerised cargoes to Indian Ocean islands, and it is conceivable that in the near future one of the Berg class could find consistent cargo out of Durban to Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles and other places with box cargo facilities. However, ro-ro and container cargoes are not always welcome at some Indian Ocean islands because the need for labour-intensive operations is essential in order to cut unemployment.

On the SA seaboard the ro-ro ships, which for convenience should be about 15 000 tons deadweight, could run their cargoes in and out over a stern ramp, and boxes could be stowed on deck.

It is a good thing to be less dependent on shore cranes and it is noteworthy that in SA there is a predisposition for more ships to handle loading and discharging by means of their own plant.

South African Transport Services (Sats) has been authorising ships to use their own gear — a boon for shipowners who, after investing in an efficient shipboard plant, have until now been forced to use wharfside cranes.

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RESISTANCE TO AGRICULTURAL REFORMS EXPECTED

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 17 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Linda Ensor]

[Text] POWERFUL interests in the meat and maize industries are expected to oppose proposals to free agriculture of controls.

Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel said on Friday a new marketing strategy combining free market principles and orderly marketing would be introduced.

His statement was welcomed by observers as a

significant shift in policy.

Dr Piet Gous, GM of the National Maize Producer's Organisation (Nampo) says the minister "deserves a slap on the back" for his "drastic" change in attitude, but added that vested interests in the industry could oppose the changes.

According to Gous: "Quite a number of people, wielding a lot of power, have built huge kingdoms for themselves in the industry and they will oppose any changes to the present system."

"We can accept that as a result of National Marketing Council (NMC) investigations the one-channel-fixed-price marketing system as it presently operates will go."

ently operates will go."

Roy van der Westhuizen, executive director of the Organisation of Livestock Producers (OLP), also believes a lobby with clout in the R1,7bn-a-year meat industry would resist changes.

Spokesmen for the meat and maize boards, however, came out in support of the status quo, saying they did not envisage any major changes to the present functions of their boards which respectively cost about R10m and R7,8m each year to administer.

Meanwhile, manufacturers of dairy products and milk distributors are said to be concerned about the lifting of controls in the dairy industry.

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BRIEFS

KWANDEBELE INDUSTRY BOOMING--In spite of the present difficult economic climate, the establishment of industry at the Ekandustria Industrial Deconcentration Point in KwaNdebele has shown considerable progress during the past 18 months. Forty-five industries, with the potential to employ 3 000 local people have already been established, while a further eight industrialists are in the process of moving into their factories. This will increase the potential for new job creation to 3 600 by the end of this year. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Dec 85 p 18] /13046

MOZAMBIQUE FLEET REPAIR CONTRACT--Durban's Elgin Brown & Hamer shipyard, an M&R subsidiary, has won a R2m ship-repair contract for a fleet of fishing vessels owned by Mozambique's State-owned Emopesca company. The contract has been credit-financed by the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC) which has a credit agreement with the Bank of Mozambique, underwritten by the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of Africa. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 17 Dec 85 p 5] /13046

RAIN SAVES OFS FARMERS--Maize farmers in the north-western Free State have been saved from almost certain disaster by this week's good rains. Conditions in the Western Transvaal remain critical. Had the Free State rains been delayed for even another week, heavy losses would have been unavoidable. Now, according to National Maize Producers Organisation (Nampo) GM Piet Gous, provided there are good rains in early January and February, an average harvest in an area which produces about 30% of the national crop would be possible. The position in the Western Transvaal--which produces 40% of the crop in an average year--is critical. Farmers say there must be a fall within the next 10 days if there is to be any hope of a reasonable crop. Farmers say intense heat and strong winds in the area during the past three weeks have dried out their lands and, without heavy rains, it will be futile to plant. In the Eastern Transvaal farmers also say they desperately need rain in the next few days. Even the weekend rains were insufficient, says Anton Steyn, of the Department of Water Affairs. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 11 Dec 85 p 1] /13046

SATS LOSSES--SA Transport Services (Sats) suffered an overall loss of R140,6m in the first seven months of the current financial year. The loss for the year, even taking into account the 15% freight tariff increase from January 1, is expected to be close to Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman's

estimate of R400m. A senior Sats official said the best revenue months were over. December, January and February were low revenue months and still had to come into the calculation. It was possible higher freight rates would raise revenue between January and the March year-end by as much as R100m. During the April-October period, Railways suffered the biggest loss-R378m. Its loss for the whole of the financial year has been estimated at R698m. Revenue amounted to R3,103bn and expenditure, R3,481bn. Airways losses in the period amounted to R50,8m. Revenue was R786,1m and expenditure, R836,9m. Harbours' revenue was R546,3m and expenditure R362,1m--a surplus of R184,2m. The pipeline showed a healthy surplus of R105,6m--revenue R139m and R33,4m expenditure. An additional expenditure item was R1,8m appropriated from net revenue. Economists said that, given the state of Sats' finances, further tariff rises were almost certain at the start of the new financial year. [Text] [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 18 Dec 85 p 2] /13046

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